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ISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF

STATESMEN

WHO FLOURISHED IN

THE TIME OF GEORGE III.;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

MARKS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THIRD SERIES.

VOLUME I.

BY

HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM, F.R.S.,

MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND OF THE ROYAL
ACADEMY OF NAPLES.

NEW EDITION, CORRECTED BY THE AUTHOR.

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INTRODUCTION.

third series of this work is delivered to the under a grateful sense of the favour with the two former were received. It has been a desire to make some small return for such as, by redoubling my care to prevent any a party or a personal kind from influencing opinions pronounced, whether upon men or measures. Conscious as every one must feel naturally our affections are engaged in behalf of whose opinions agree with our own, and at the adversaries of those opinions are to be dealt with in the judgments we form of I have most scrupulously made it my endeavour to treat all with whose history I have seen if I was ignorant of the principles which actually guided their conduct, until I came to see how far it was governed by them.

It has further been the constant object of these to record whatever tended to promote the good and united causes of public virtue, freedom, and universal peace; holding up their merits to the veneration of mankind, their enemies to contempt and aversion; while the glare that success casts upon bad actions, and the shade into which good is thrown by failure, have, as far as possible, been shown to be temporary only; and mankind

have been constantly warned to struggle against the prepossession thus raised by the event, and mete out their praise or blame by the just measure of desert.

The first part of the volume now published relates to the French Revolution, and to those who bore the foremost part in its most trying and interesting crisis. In giving this account I enjoyed particular advantages, having the pleasure of knowing several worthy and intelligent persons who bore a part in the transactions of those times. To one of these, my learned colleague in the National Institute, M. Lakanal, I was introduced by the kindness of my distinguished friend Mignet; and I have received from him many important communications. He was not a member of the Committee of Public Safety; but he belonged to the high popular party in the Convention and he was at the head of the Committee of Instruction. He retains, at the advanced age of above fourscore, all the ardent zeal for human improvement and steady devotion to the cause of liberty which so eminently marked his early years.

The reader of these pages is further indebted to my friend Earl Stanhope for a valuable note respecting Fouché.

BROUGHAM, 1st October, 1843.

M. Lakanal died last spring. General Clarke, whom I also had the pleasure of knowing many years ago.

BROUGHAM, 11th September, 1845.

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upon which the speculations of the Abbé Barruel and his followers reposed. Thus, to take a single example, the machinations which were asserted to have been practised upon M. Camille Jourdan (a worthy person of extremely insignificant talents and no influence), and to have gained him over to the revolutionary party, could not by possibility have been so used, inasmuch as that gentleman assured M. Mounier that he had never in his life seen or communicated with a single individual of those confidently named by the Abbé as his seducers, or with any other persons of the same class.

But M. Mounier did not content himself with excluding the lodges and the chapters of secret associations; he was equally confident in his exclusion of the philosophers and their writings. Not only, according to him, had the direct attempts by plot and conspiracy no hand in undermining the old French Government, but the indirect and gradual influence of infidel opinions, and revolutionary doctrines propagated through the press, the encyclopædias, the dissertations, the romances, the correspondence, the poems, the epigrams—all the heavy and all the light artillery of the band so formidable by its numbers, its learning, its genius, and its wit, so indefatigable in its exertions against the established order of things, so incessant in its efforts to undermine all prejudices, to strip all established institutions of the respect with which time

feeling and associations had clothed them, so us in converting mankind from settled faith to new things, in rousing them against abuses as in the State as the Church, in declaring the natural rights of men, in painting their wrongs, in saying the merits of the people, and denouncing crimes of priests and princes—all the teaching of the D'Alemberts, the Condorcets, the sneerings of the Voltaires, the eloquence of the Rousseaus, the fancy of the Diderots, the social powers of the Hume's and the Grimms—all were without influence in preparing the great change; and the press, which over Paris and over France had for a century been working with the corruptions of the Court and the Church and the sufferings of the people, had taken its whole tone from the writings of these great men, and the circles of fashion which were concentrated and reflected the lights which shed abroad—were all, according to M. Mouton, wholly foreign to the purpose, wholly unconnected in bringing about a change that took precisely the direction to which all those efforts were directed; in overthrowing a system of ecclesiastical and political government, against which all those efforts had been aimed; in producing a general movement of that people, to excite whom in this manner and to this very movement all those efforts and exertions had so evidently been made. It did seem that those who held such opinions as

these were prepared to believe, on seeing a battery erected against a town, and bearing its fire upon the walls for weeks, that the breach which was made had not been caused by bullets, but by an accidental earthquake. According to M. Mounier and his followers, the whole mystery of the Revolution was contained in the accidental derangement of the Finances, the convocation of the States General, and the vacillating conduct of the Court and the Ministers in first suffering the Commons—the *tiers état*—to have a double number of representatives, and afterwards allowing the three orders to join in their deliberations, sitting in the same hall. Had it not been, they contended, for the recent addition of nearly fifty millions to the debt while the revenue was insufficient to defray the public expenditure and pay the interest owing to the public creditor, had not the King agreed to call the States when no means of obtaining the needed supplies could be devised; nay, after they were called, had not an undue proportion of deputies been granted to the Commons, and the majority thus created been permitted to act on the whole body by joint voting,—the whole storm would have passed away, and the ancient establishments have continued to guide the religion and rule the fortunes of the country.

On the opposite side of the question there appeared one of the most remarkable pieces that ever

ed the periodical literature of any country. Jeffrey began his labours in the 'Edinburgh Review,' and laid the foundation of that celebrated work's fame by a paper, in which he examined and refuted M. Mounier's doctrine—a paper of which it would be hard to determine whether the tasteful imagery of its illustrations, the prudence and wisdom of its opinions, or the felicitous diction of its style, most deserves our admiration. No eminent person and those who agree with him can be from denying that the deranged finances of the country, and the imbecility of the Government, have shared in accelerating the Revolution and in prolonging its course. A yearly expenditure of six millions, with a revenue of less than nineteen millions, leaving not three to pay the interest and charges on the debt of between ten and eleven millions annually, formed such dreadful embarrassment as could well shake any established system, how wisely or how vigorously soever it was administered. It is certain that greater disorder has prevailed in the revenue of other States, and has been got over by the rough, though vigorous, expedients of arbitrary power has at command, without shaking the stability of the national institutions.

Nor could all the errors of the Neckers, the Lamoignon, the Maurepas, the Calannes, have dislocated any portion of a system which had not been doomed to crumble in pieces by the ravages of the Revolution or the undermining of the public opinion, or

the ferment of popular discontent, and the universal prevalence of a love of change.

M. Mounier was correctly and beautifully described in the paper referred to as having given for the causes of the Revolution, circumstances which really proved it to be already begun; as having gone no further back than to the earliest of its apparent effects, instead of tracing its hidden sources as having mistaken the cataracts that broke the stream for the fountains from which it rose; as contented himself with referring the fruit to the blossom, without taking any account of the germination of the seed, or the underground winding of the root.*

It is certain that, though the financial derangement powerfully aided the preachers of revolt, and though their efforts were not met by any adequate vigour on the part of those who administered the power of the government, yet these were far enough from being the cause of the Revolution. The apostles of change found more powerful coadjutors and more active and ample elements of mischief in the great abuses which prevailed both in the Ecclesiastical and the Civil institutions of the country. A church endowed with above five millions of revenue from tithes alone, and with nearly half the land of the kingdom, assigned only a wretched pittance of twenty pounds a-year to the parochial or working clergy, while all the rest was a prey to the vices

* Edinburgh Review, vol. i. p. 7.

ous, an idle, and a dissolute hierarchy. The property of the country was so unequally that one-third of it alone was in the hands of the clergy, the church and the nobles paying all the rest. The taxes were so unequally distributed that the largest of them all (the *Taille*), between seven and eight millions, fell upon the peasantry, neither church nor nobles paying a farthing towards it; and it was estimated that if an acre of land afforded three quarters of gross produce, nearly two went to the landlord, eighteen shillings to the landlord, and a shilling only remained to the cultivator. In England Young used to reckon that the cultivator received three-fourths of the produce, while in

France he had but a twelfth part; placing him in a position nine times less advantageous. The evils arising from the feudal system, and which were felt far more severely in France than in any other feudal kingdom, completed the distress of the people, affecting them both in their subsistence, in their comforts, and in their freedom.

Nor can it be doubted that, upon a sensitive people like the French, with minds highly susceptible of affront, the mental degradation which these feudal distinctions inflicted was more painful than any actual suffering which in their material comforts they had to endure. It is probable that the peasant felt more vexed

at seeing the lord's pigeons trespassing on his crops without the power of destroying them, knowing that the lord might not possess an acre of land,* than he did from paying a tithe of that crop to the church and a third to the landlord; and the statute labour (*corvée*) which he always had to perform must have harassed him incalculably more than a much heavier burthen shared with the feudal lord. Accordingly, of all the changes effected by the Revolution, there was none which went more home to every Frenchman's bosom than the famous decree sweeping away feudal privileges. The vote of the Assembly on the 4th of August diffused joy over all France, such as perhaps no other act of legislative power ever excited. It may be said without a figure of speech, to have raised one universal shout of exultation through the whole expanse of that vast and populous country. The language applied by Mr. Burke to the memorable proceeding of that night, and which termed it the "St. Bartholomew of the privileged orders," was employed by but a very few, and did not express the sentiments prevailing even among the members of those orders themselves, from whom indeed the proposition mainly had proceeded.

* The *droit de Colomnier* was wholly dependent on the seignory, and might belong to a lord who had no property in land: the actual owner had it only in a very limited extent.—*Political Philosophy*, part 1, chap. xiii.

Just half a century after these events I happened to be travelling in a remote district of Provence, when, reposing in the heat of the day under a porch, my eye was attracted by some placards, whose letters were preserved by the great dryness of that climate, though they had been there for fifty years. Those papers were the official promulgation of the several decrees for secularizing the clergy, abolishing the monastic orders, and abrogating all feudal privileges, signed by the several Presidents of the Assembly, Bureau de Pusey,* Camus, and Liéyes. The incident is exceedingly trivial in itself; but I shall not easily forget its effect in carrying me back to the great scenes of the Revolution, where yet its path had been stained with blood, while virtuous men might honestly exult in its success, and the friends of their species could venture to hope for the unsullied triumphs of the sacred warfare waged with long-established abuses. The past seemed connected with the present, and the mighty consequences visible all around which had flowed from the changes recorded in those few lines, appeared to rise, as it were, before the sight, springing out of their causes. Nor must it be forgotten that the perils of the tempest having happily passed away, the atmosphere which it had cleared was breathed in a pleasing reflection that the region over which its fury had swept was now flourishing in unprecedented prosperity, for which the price paid had as-

* Afterwards confined at Olmutz with Lafayette.

surely been heavy, but not too heavy compared with the blessings it had purchased.

Hitherto we have only considered the proceedings of the National Assembly itself; but that merely was not the only organ of public opinion, popular feeling, nor were its deliberations free and uncontrolled. As soon as parties began to form themselves within its circle, appeals to the people out of doors were the natural consequence, each seeking to gain the weight arising in revolutionary times from popular support. As with the exception of one or two scenes of fully excited popular fury, the press also was the channel through which the party leaders sought to influence public opinion. The religious feelings of the people were next appealed to, the tendency of the clergy to support the existing institutions, and the course of hostility to the Church so early pursued by almost all parties in the Assembly, soon brought such feeble and about appeals to a close; and a more successful and effectual mode of agitating was discovered. Clubs were formed, at which men not belonging to the Assembly, as well as deputies, met to discuss the topics of the day, and especially the proceedings of their representatives. These meetings were at first private and not numerous; soon they were better attended, and were much frequented by the deputies themselves; then their doors were open to the people. The earliest association

7. Perceiving that its influence upon the
ably was considerable, the Club now endea-
d to rule the municipality or Town-Council of
a body always possessed of great influence
the large revenues at its disposal, and the
number of persons in its constant employ for
anagement of those revenues, as well as of
Metropolitan Police. The Jacobin Club, as
now termed, extended its influence to the
ices, and formed everywhere affiliated socie-
clubs which corresponded with it, took their
from its debates, and exercised in each town
luence like its own.

sension, however, broke out in the mother
7 itself. The more moderate n, with La-

which was so much better attended that it excited the jealousy of the Parisian mob, gave rise to tumults, and was shut up at the beginning of the year 1791 on that account by the police, which thought it just and reasonable to punish the party assembled because those who attacked it had been guilty of some violence.

The Jacobins now underwent another change. The Lameths and Barnaves, unwilling to push matters to extremity, formed a new club, called "*Feuillans*," from the convent at which they met, and the direction of the Jacobins fell into the hands of Pétion and of Robespierre. But there were some who deemed these men and their followers sufficiently favourable to extreme courses. Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine sought to form a more violent club, which met at the Convent of the *Vieux Cordeliers*, and took thence their name. Among these different clubs the Jacobins exercised the greatest influence over the Assembly, the municipality, and the people at large; but all of them, by their unceasing agitation, kept the people in a constant ferment of quiet; all of them, by their overbearing conduct, kept the deliberations of the Assembly under a control as indecent as it was pernicious; all of them prepared the materials of a combustible train, which a spark might at any time fire into a general explosion. Unhappily the Assembly did not preserve from the first a firm and determined aspect of

assistance, so as to secure for itself the unbiassed freedom of discussion and of decision. But the first Assembly had far less to suffer from the interruption of the multitude than the second and the Convention afterwards had to endure.

It was to be remarked that the total number of those who frequented and composed the clubs was really far from being formidable. Thus 1500 was the whole body which usually composed the Jacobin meetings—a number quite inefficient to overcome either the constituted authorities of the capital, or the mass of its inhabitants, though truly formidable as a band of active agitators; for it must be remembered that all those men were demagogues and intriguers—men heated with enthusiasm, or agitated by the love of change, or prompted by mere desire of mischief; and as for their debates, the meetings were far too numerous for anything like discussion: so that when they made the proceedings of the legislature the subject of their deliberation every night as soon as the Assembly had adjourned, nothing could be heard but violent invective against some members, and exaggerated praise of others, ending in a resolution, carried by acclamation of the assembled mob, to excite some tumult among the multitude, in order either to further or to obstruct the course of the national councils. The more sober-minded and respectable classes of the community held aloof from all such

proceedings. The great majority of the trades people, the shopkeepers, the artisans, even the better most labourers, and almost all the proprietors, or persons of fixed means, took no part in what was going on, but regarded the acts of the legislature with interest, and the violence of the clubs with silent dread; while the mere rabble, which had nothing to lose, and never reflected on questions which they were too ignorant to understand, were—either from love of confusion and its sister, plunder, or from the mere heat of uninformed but easily excited fancy and feeling—the ready tools of the clubmen, as often as a demonstration of mob force was wanted, in order to overawe the Government, or to determine the conduct of individuals. It became thus clear that a small minority was enabled to rule the multitude, and influence the people of the capital. A similar force was exerted by the provincial clubs upon the people of the towns; and the influence exerted on the deliberations of the Assembly was the power of a small but active body, who had thrown off all regard to order or moderation, and who were devoted to whatever most worked for great changes, with an audacity to which fear was as much a stranger as principle, or prudence, or discretion.

When the National Assembly had destroyed the greater evils of which the people complained, and had formed a constitution upon the principles of

a mixed or limited monarchy, they voluntarily stripped themselves of their functions, abdicated their power, and resigned into the hands of the people the high trust which had been delegated to them. Such a course was quite fitting, and indeed was the inevitable consequence of a new constitution being established. But there was coupled with the dissolution of the Assembly a provision unexampled in the history of human folly, and which nevertheless was adopted almost without discussion, and by general acclamation. It was declared that no one of the members of the first Assembly should be capable of being elected to the second; and the consequence was, that every man of weight and experience, all those whose capacity and integrity had most recommended them to the confidence of their fellow citizens, whose trust-worthiness had been brought to the test of experience, and whose opinions had become known to the world, were excluded from the body which was called to work the new Constitution, and to make a code of municipal laws for France. Unknown, inexperienced, untried men were alone suffered to execute the most important functions that mortals can perform, and in circumstances of the greatest difficulty. The result answered to the expectations which all reasonable men had formed. The conduct of the legislative body was that of an inexperienced multitude, wholly under the control of the most

violent parties out of doors, unable to maintain their own independence, and incapable even of preserving the decorous appearance of a senate in its hall, as often as the mob rushed into its presence.

But the bad constitution of the new Assembly was produced not more by the absurd rule excluding all the former members, than by the other means which the authors of that rule used to fill it with the creatures of their faction. The club especially the more powerful one of the Jacobins were the instigators of Robespierre's motion for the exclusion; and they assured themselves that its result would be to throw into their hands the whole elections of the new legislature. Accordingly they pursued a course of agitation and canvass with the unceasing activity which is only known to popular bodies, with the boldness which even they only possess in the troublous times of revolutionary excitement, and with a perseverance unusual to popular bodies even in those times. The mother club of Paris disposed of all the elections there

* It must be confessed that frequently the French people displayed in their elections a regard for their principles, and a sense of gratitude towards public benefactors, which we vainly look for among the people of our own country. No man of any eminence in the two first Assemblies was excluded from a seat in the Convention or Council of Five Hundred; and if any one lost his election in the places of his own department, some other was sure to choose him.

Carnot the extraordinary honour was paid of no less than seven places returning him to the Council of Five

and the affiliated societies in the departments exercised equal sway over the provincial returns. The influence of the clubs therefore, but especially of the Jacobin Club, was prodigiously augmented by the general election; and over the new Assembly they exercised an almost unlimited control. In proportion to the obscurity and insignificance of the newly-elected deputies was the importance of those who had obtained the whole confidence of the country by their great exploits in the former Assembly. That weight must have been constantly felt to bias the deliberations of their unknown and nameless successors, even had no means been provided of bringing it to bear directly and substantially upon the proceedings of the legislative body; but the clubs, in which the known leaders, members of the former Assembly, continued to debate all questions before the people, and with the greatest publicity, seconded by the press, rendered their influence altogether irresistible. If Robespierre, in proposing their exclusion from the new Assembly, had no other design than the avowed object of ex-

Hundred. In England, let the man who has rendered the most valuable services in Parliament, and shown himself the best qualified to discharge the important duties of a representative, lose his seat by any accident, and, for want of funds and of aristocratic support, he may reckon on being left out altogether. No other place feels a call to return him, as constant experience has shown, to the extreme discredit of the English character.

tending the popular power, and purifying the legislature from all personal and party taint, nothing can be considered more absurd than the scheme; but if his plan was to make the new Assembly the mere instrument of a few men who had borne sway in the old, and to place the whole powers of the state in the hands of a few agitators, acting through the mob of Paris, the project must be allowed on all hands to have been wisely and warily conceived, and certainly its success was complete.

Fully to perceive the obscurity of the men into whose hands the legislative power was now nominally committed, we have only to look at the official reports of the debates during the month of October, 1791, when the new Assembly met. Forty-three members spoke in the second meeting: of these the names of sixteen only are given; the remaining twenty-seven are in blank, the reporters having been utterly unable to name them; they are all called *Monsieur* In the third sitting twenty-seven spoke, and twenty are recorded anonymously. The temper of the body, moved entirely by the Jacobin Club, may be ascertained with almost equal accuracy from the proceedings which first were taken. The titles of *Sire* and *Your Majesty* were refused to the King, the first magistrate under the constitution which they had just sworn to uphold; and a seat was allotted to him in the Chamber of the size, form, and elevation

President's ! The childish nature of these
res, while it conveyed a notion of the petty
that were ruling France, could not conceal
the eye of the observer the evil spirit which
their deliberations.

power of the clubs, and especially of the
ns, now rose in proportion to the obscurity
significance of the men thus unknown who
deliberations of the Assembly. But it was
merely holding their nightly meetings, and
vent to the most violent sentiments in their
natory harangues, that the Jacobins obtained
controllable an influence. Those meetings,
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omplete discredit the proceedings of the

bly, because they were attended by the ablest
st popular men in public life, and their de-
aturally excited far more interest than those
obscure Assembly. In this country the
nent has always found it necessary, for the
nance of its own superiority and importance,
y for preserving its existence, to put down
strong hand every rival body. Accordingly,
l, when the convention was assembled, of
es to sit in London, discussing public mea-
und about to publish reports of their debates,
rliament passed an Act declaring such a
g unlawful, as had been done formerly by
h Parliament, and since the Union by the

British Parliament, with respect to Ireland. The ground of the apprehensions which led to these measures was the consciousness that, independent of the direct authority of the legislature derived from its actual power, its weight with the people depends, at least in modern times, upon its debates; and that a greater portion of that weight than it could afford to lose would inevitably be transferred to the rival body. In Paris the Assembly was weakened, and all but suspended, by the operation of the same causes in the proceedings of the Jacobin Club; but though these might, in the end, have proved destructive to the Assembly, the Jacobins were not content to await the result of so slow a process of discredit. They determined on keeping alive the direct authority of the Assembly, and using it as their instrument. They assumed, therefore, the tone of superiority, and used the language of dictation. Their resolutions were communicated by deputations at the Assembly's bar; but they had recourse to other measures for the purpose of giving weight to their representations, and over-awing at once the executive and the legislative functions of the state. The municipality of Paris was under the control of the club; and the mob, chiefly through that body, whose funds were large, and whose servants were very numerous, was so completely at the club's disposal that it could, upon any occasion, bring into the field a force of

thousands, among whom were many desperate men, ready at all times for every extremity of sanguinary violence. The greatest outrages were indeed, at first, not committed in the capital, but by the affiliated societies, chiefly in the south of France. Alarming disturbances broke out, particularly at Nismes, where the Catholics and Protestants came into collision, exasperating by their religious fanaticism the violence of political faction ; and a great number of lives were sacrificed to the fury of the contending parties. The amount of this slaughter is differently stated, but no account reduces it below several hundreds ; and the Assembly, acting under the control of the mother club, did not bring to punishment some atrocious miscreants whose cannibal ferocity had been proved before it, but suffered them, after a slight examination, to return and renew the same horrors upon the scene of their former crimes.

It appears, from various unsuspected sources of information, that the leaders of the extreme parties were fully sensible of their having only an inconsiderable numerical force compared with those who adhered either to the ancient order of things, or the new and mixed constitution. The republican party formed a very inconsiderable minority everywhere, though in Paris they had a following among the literary and scientific classes, and among the lower orders, ever ready for change, and prone to

fancy that all confusion must benefit them the party of the Gironde, the earliest to for a republic, were all along conscious of weakness in point of numerical strength, and the necessity of overawing the majority by demonstrations of physical force. Even after it had produced its effect in silencing opposition, attracting that portion of the multitude which civil broils is always ready to side with the powerful party, we find the Republican confessing with bitterness of spirit that though but a small proportion of the people with After the overthrow of monarchy, it was a of Barrère, "Il y a une République—il n'y a de républicains."—One of the Gironde (Sa boasted that his party "had defeated the whole the country on the 10th August with three thousand workmen."—When Pétion was declared there were but five Republicans in all France, d'Herbois and Merlin de Thionville, in an conversation with him, exclaimed, "Nous avons dix d'Août sans vous, et nous allons faire publique contre vous."—As late as July 3 we find Merlin de Douai speaking of the abolition of royalty with horror as meaning "a civil war," and arguing on the utter impossibility of forming a republic in an extensive country (*Mém. de Lafayette*, iii. 383.)—Danton, in his address to the Council of Ministers upon the

to be taken for the defence of the country the allies had taken Longwy, and were cannon-

Verdun (31st August, 1792), used these remarkable expressions; "Vous ne pouvez pas dissimuler l'extrême minorité dans l'état du qui veut la république." (You cannot cou- from yourselves the very insignificant mi- of the party in the country which is for a lie.)—His inference from thence was, that alone would gain the day. "Il faut faire aux Royalistes. Effrayez les!"—On the eve (too-memorable days of September, he followed his counsel with these ever-to-be-remembered words: "Pour vaincre, que faut-il? De l'audace! De l'audace! et toujours de l'audace!—France est sauvée."*

Upon this principle the Jacobins and other members of the extreme party faithfully acted. The club, composed chiefly of deputies from that assembly, and thence deriving their name, were men of respectable character, averse for the most part to political proceedings, much connected with the press, of a speculative and literary cast, disliking, even despising, all popular associations, but of a blind fanaticism in favour of their own political opinions. At first they are supposed not to have favoured

for what reason I know not, the most remarkable phrase, "*et la France est sauvée*," are left out by most authors. The debate in the 'Moniteur' gives them as in the text.

republican courses, chiefly from their untastes and habits. But, whether from themselves without any support with any of the community if they maintained their constitutional doctrines, or from the natural tendency of those doctrines when embraced with tical zeal to merge in republicanism, certain that they soon became the chief patrons of extreme views which sought the destruction of royalty; and though disinclined to all excess were fain to call for so much violence as to silence their adversaries, giving the minority power through terror which they wanted by force of reason, or on the balance of numbers. Accordingly they actively joined in a very violent attack both upon the Assembly and the king, which the republican mob made on the 20th of June, when they marched armed through the streets of the former, and, forcing their entrance into the courts and chambers of the latter, compelled the unhappy monarch to recognize the power of the mob by wearing the red cap, and all but violating the sanctity of his person. The virtual destruction of the monarchy soon followed; for on the 10th of August the government had not the courage of Pétion, the mayor, and other heads of the assembly had not the honesty, to prevent an armed mob of many thousands from occupying the palace and massacring the Swiss guards, whom Louis had

nceivable folly persisted in retaining about his person, without having the firmness to use them in defence.

The imprisonment of the royal family and the calling a National Convention, which at its first meeting established the Republic, were the immediate consequences of that memorable day. Yet a few weeks before, sixty-nine out of the eighty-three departments into which France was then divided, had declared themselves friendly to the existing moderate monarchical constitution; and only a few days before the capture of the Tuileries by the mob, a trial of strength between the parties in the Assembly, on the motion for Lafayette's impeachment, who had openly declared against extreme measures, gave the moderate party a majority of four hundred and six over two hundred and twenty-four voices. When the blow was struck, and before the new elections, these moderate men disappeared; and the Convention, containing many members of the second or Legislative Assembly, with all the most eminent of the first or Constituent, was forced to follow with blind deference the councils of the republican leaders, or rather obey the dictation of the Jacobin Club.

Here let us pause, and respectfully giving ear to the warnings of past experience, as whispered by the historic muse, let us calmly revolve in our

minds the very important lessons of wisdom and virtue, applicable to all times, which these memorable details from recent annals are fitted to teach.

In the *first* place, they show the danger of neglecting due precautions against the arts and the acts of violent partisans working upon the public mind, and of permitting them to obtain ascendancy, by despising their power, or trusting to their being overwhelmed and lost in the great multitude of the peaceable and the good. 'A few numbers of the ill-intentioned may be very considerable; yet the tendency of such extraneous opinions, when zealously propagated because fictitiously entertained, is always to spread; their direction is ever forward; and the disposition of the respectable and peaceable classes is ever to be inactive, sluggish, indifferent, ultimately submissive. When Mr. Burke compared the agitators of his day to the grasshoppers in a summer's season, and the bulk of the people to the British ox, who repose under the oak, was not broken by the unfortunate chink rising from the insects of an hour; he painted a picturesque and pleasing image, and one accurate enough for the purpose of showing that the public voice is not spoken by the clamour of the violent. But unhappily the grasshopper fails to represent the agitator in this, that it can rouse any one of the minority to the attack; while the ox does represent but too faithfully the

able majority, in that he is seldom roused from ruminating half-slumber till it is too late to his fate.

It, *secondly*, it is not merely the activity of actors that arms them with force to overpower the bulk of the people—their acts of intimidation are more effectual than any assiduity and any address. We see how a handful of men leading a Paris mob overturned the monarchy, and then set up and maintained an oligarchy of the most despotic character that ever was known in the world, all the while ruling the vast majority of a people that utterly loathed them, ruling that people with an iron rod, and scourging them with鞭子. This feat of tyranny they accomplished by terror alone. A rabble of ten or twelve hundred persons occupying the capital overawed a million of men as robust, perhaps as brave, as themselves; but the rabble were infuriated, and had nothing to lose; the Parisian burghers were calm, and had shops, and wives, and children; they were fain to be still, in order that no outrage should be committed on their property or on their persons. The tendency of great meetings of a people is two-fold—their numbers are always augmented both by the representations of their fears* and by the fears of the bystanders; and

The Irish demagogues speak of addressing three and four hundred thousand persons in districts where the whole population of all ages amounts to less than half the number.

the spectacle of force which they exhibit, and the certainty of the mischief which they are capable of doing, when excited and resisted by any but the force of troops, scares all who do not belong to them. Hence the vast majority of the people are afraid to act, remain quiet, and give the agitators the appearance of having no adversaries. They reverse the maxim, whoso is not with us is against us, and hold all with them whom they may have terrified into silence and repose. That this effect of intimidation is prodigious, no one can doubt. It acts and re-acts; and while fear keeps a portion of the people neutral and quiet, the impression that there is, if not a great assent to the agitators, at least little resistance to them, affects the rest of the people until the great mass is quelled, and large numbers are even induced by their alarms partially to join in the unpopular movement.


But, *lastly*, it behoves us to consider how powerful a voice is raised by these facts in condemnation of the sluggish, the selfish, the pusillanimous conduct of those who, by their acquiescence and neutrality, arm a despicable and unprincipled minority with absolute power. And assuredly a warning, as well as a condemnation, proceeds from the same view of the facts; for nothing can be more short-sighted than the policy of those timid or inactive persons who suffer themselves, for the sake of present ease and safety, to be deterred from performing the

the community. How deeply blameable the respectable classes of the French capital in turning their quiet to their duty, and making it against the clubs and their mob ! But what a penalty did they pay for the momentary repose which their cowardice purchased ! The Reign of Terror, under which no life was for a day ; the wholesale butcheries both of prisoners in September, and by the daily guillotines that soon followed ; the violence of the Revolution, which filled every family with orphans and widows ; the profligate despotism and national anarchy under the Directory ; the military tyranny of Napoleon ; the sacrifice of millions to slake his thirst for conquest ; the invasion of France by foreign troops—pandours, hussars, cossacks, twice over in the spoils of Paris ; the humiliating occupation of the country for five years by the armies, and her ransom by the payment of billions ;—these were the consequences, more or less remote, of the Reign of Terror, which so burnt into the memory of all Frenchmen the horrors of the Revolution as to make an aversion to change for a century of a century the prevailing characteristic of the people not the least fickle among the nations, to render a continuance of any yoke bearable, and with the perils of casting it off. All these evils were the price paid by the respectable classes of France, but especially of Paris, for their

unworthy dread of resisting the clubs and in 1792.

Among the lessons taught by the Revolution, I have not mentioned the obligation which it inculcates upon all rulers not to withhold the people's rights, nor withhold such rights as the people have a title to expect, and as the constitution of the national institutions demands. From the inference from the first stage of the event, and not from that last consummation, we have been more immediately occupied. The power of the clubs and the Parisians did not at all rest upon the refusal of the Government to give whatever improvements were required by the state of France. No pretext could be found on any such ground either to justify or to condemn the enormities of those who acted in the scenes, or the pusillanimity of those who allowed them to usurp and to abuse supreme power. The utmost latitude had been given to reform every branch of the state long before any attempts were made to subvert the constitutional government; and the success of those attempts had nothing whatever to do with the views or the grievances of the Reformers, or with any complaints of the

We have now traced the establishment of the system of intimidation to its real source.



al weakness of the Republican party, and termination to govern the country in spite of opinions and the wishes of the bulk of the city. They thus succeeded in overthrowing monarchy, and establishing a republic in its place, but the inevitable consequence of this was speedily followed. No sooner were they in almost undisputed possession of power, than the temper and ambition of individual leaders, inflamed by the violence or by the subserviency of the mob or persons, their followers, marshalled the Convention in parties, thirsting for supremacy, animated with bitter, mutual hatred, and unscrupulous about the means which they employed to gratify the one passion by usurping the powers of government, or the other by destroying their rivals. The Convention was the legislative body of the state: its numbers, between four and eight hundred, were far too great for free and deliberate discussion; for unless its proceedings had become regulated, like those of our Parliament, by long usage, and its members, like our representatives, acquired by practice the habits of orderly debate, such a body was necessarily weak and incapable of sustained deliberation. In a legislature this defect was unavoidable, and intimately mixed up with its constitution. The more numerous the members, the less compatible was the number of its members with the functions of a body


which possessed the executive as well as the legislative powers, and even interfered with the judicial authority. Hence the want of a vigorous government, in the perils which surrounded the country both from foreign war and from financial embarrassment, rendered it absolutely necessary that the Convention should delegate its powers to subsidiary bodies; and this led to the appointment of Committees whose names have become so famous in the history of the times—the Committee of General Security and Public Safety (*Comité de Salut Générale* and *De Salut Public*)—of which the latter soon assumed the whole executive power of the state. It consisted of nine, and afterwards ten, members, among the most eminent of the Jacobin party.

Let it not, however, be supposed that the Convention was a body insignificant from its position, like the Legislative Assembly. It was far too numerous for action, but it contained the most able and eminent men of the day. In the first place there were fifty-seven of the members of the Constituent Assembly, including twenty-two of the most remarkable of its members—as Robespierre, Prieur de la Marne, Merlin de Douai, Gracchus Barrère, Boissy d'Anglas. Then there were six of the Legislative Assembly, much less distinguished men, as might be expected, yet including four or five of eminence—as Condorcet, Mer-

ville. Then there were fifty-eight magistrates, of whom were eminent—as Cambacérès, Chénier, Rebecqui, Laréveillère Lepaux, Roberjot—most all respectable men; seventy-seven advocates, including Danton, Guïton de Morveau, the celebrated chemist, Poulain Grandpré, Ricord, Lavoisier, Billaud Varennes, Vergniaud; twenty-five physicians, including Fourcroy, Lanthénas, Berthollet, Eschasserieux, Dubouchet, Bourgoing; seven bishops, including Robert Lindet, Grégoire, Thibault; five Protestant ministers, including Rabaut St. Etienne, Lasonne; nineteen men of letters, almost all of whom had been universally known by their writings, but Lakanal, Pottier d'Herbois, Chénier, Dupuis, Fréron, Fabre d'Églantine, Mercier, were the most distinguished; to which must be added twenty-six who had become famous for their merits, either as men of speculation or action; and in this last class were enrolled the names of Carnôt, Barras, Cambon, Desmoulins, Pétion, Just, Gasparin, Isnard, Legendre, Tallien, and Louis Crancé.

The body thus composed, and chosen by the nation,

course taken of delegating the whole executive functions to Committees of small numbers, a firmness with which the Convention's confidence and support were given to those Committees above all praise. Their plan of proceeding adopted, that of making reports from these Committees and raising discussions in the Assembly itself on the subjects brought forward, had the effect of giving the executive power a constant sanction from the people, whose interest in the public proceedings was thus kept alive ; and the Government acted, or seemed to act, as the organ of the community, while its vigour was proportioned to narrow limits within which its powers were concentrated. The wonderful exertions made in public defence, the progress of the national arms in foreign conquest, the facility with which the whole resources of the state were called for and employed for the exigencies of its service, fully attest the genius which presided over the revolutionary councils, and the vigour which carried them into effect. The Convention was, like the Venetian aristocracy, the ruling power ; but the authority was wielded by the Committee, like the Council of Ten, while the Revolutionary Tribunal supplied the Inquisitor's place. If no other motive had animated and actuated the system but a desire to defend France, or to extend her dominions !—happy, if, with the



which the constitution bestowed, there had not continued to grow and overpower, that terror which had from the earlier times of the Revolution proved the mainspring of all its movements !

Very far otherwise was cast the lot of France under the Republican chiefs who now had clothed themselves with the supreme power to direct all her affairs. The system of intimidation which had raised them to their "bad eminence," was now pursued to retain it, by crushing first, next by exterminating, all the leading men among their rivals or their adversaries. But they began with the royal family ; hoping to strike an universal terror into their opponents by the signal example of a king sacrificed to the prevailing faction among his people ; not, however, before they had issued a decree, unexampled in the history of the world, by which they promised the aid of their victorious arms to whatever nation chose to throw off the yoke of its rulers, and establish a republican government in the stead of its ancient monarchical institutions. It was thus the declared resolution of the French leaders not only to annihilate all opposition at home among the Royalist party, but to surround their new republic with similar dynasties, in order to perpetuate the domination of their revolutionary principles by rendering them universal.

But although the death of the King had been resolved upon by the Jacobin leaders, and every

resource of the clubs and of the municipalit called forth to accomplish this purpose, the gr difficulties were experienced in the Conve To surmount these, attempts were made to p discussion, and come to an immediate vote. means were resorted to for hampering the K his defence. At last the speeches of the me were not permitted to be heard, but were o to be given in, written, that they might be r printed. The able defence of the advocate the dignified demeanour of the illustrious v produced a great effect both on the Assembl on the country at large. The Gironde ; which really had the majority in the Conve were for the most part against a capital punish and if the vote had been taken on the sen before the vote upon the appeal to the Pr Electoral Assemblies, there cannot be a that this appeal would have been carried i event of a capital punishment being awar the first instance. But the leaders craftily vented this result, which they foresaw ; an Convention, by a blunder perhaps unexampl the proceedings of a great body of men acti their deliberative capacity, suffered the quest the appeal to be decided before the facts known, or the circumstances had occurred were calculated most imperatively to gove decision. Hence the jealousy of the pr

probability, have preferred even that prospective acquittal to the sentence of death, had been no other alternative. Against the ap-
there declared 424 to 283; the vote having
unanimous against an absolute acquittal.
sentence of death, when the votes came to be
zed, appeared to have been carried only by
majority of five, 721 having voted out of the
who composed the Convention.* There cannot
more striking proof how little the voice of the
try at large went with the proceedings of the
bblcan leaders, than this large minority in an
ably chosen under the powerful and universal
ence of the clubs and the mobs, and sitting at
s under the constant exertion of that influence

Convention itself to the control of the clubs. establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal : the way for this soon after the execution of King. A body of six, acting alternately and three, as judges, was appointed by the Convention, to try, with the assistance of a jury chosen from the electoral bodies, and of a public accuser named by the Convention. The jurisdiction of this dreadful tribunal extended over all political offences against the Convention, rather than the public prosecutor, put parties upon their trial before it. The punishment of death was immediately after determined by law, against all acts, all publications, all writings, tending to restore the monarchy or to overthrow the Republican government; and the superintendence of the public safety was then confided to the celebrated Committee, which has already been mentioned as soon engrossing the whole executive power of the State.*

* *Salut public* has generally been rendered *public safety* but the word was rather *salvation* of the public, and expressed, indeed, its eminent functions and extraordinary pointment, as if under a pressing exigency to rescue the State from perdition. It was appointed on the 6th of March 1793, on the proposition of Isnard, one of the most daring, and enthusiastic of the Republican chiefs, a member of the Gironde party, in whose proscription he shared, though he escaped death by flight. He was of a highly respectable family of Grasse, still among the first in that town. I have the pleasure of knowing them well living in their neighbourhood.

g the Queen to death by a mock trial before
evolutionary Tribunal. By a like proceed-
they put Custine, one of their very best
als, to death for having surrendered Valen-
s, when it was in fact taken by regular siege,
by storm. They prevented a Royalist insur-
n at Lyons by destroying a great part of that
city, and massacreing many hundreds of its
itants. They procured the execution of the
de leaders, Brissot, Vergniaud, and twenty
; and they sacrificed in like manner to their
of vengeance and lust of power some of the
eminent soldiers and philosophers of France,
er, Houchard, Bailly, Lavoisier, to whom
e added Barnave, the successor of Mirabeau,
far the greatest orator of the Assembly, and
rtuous and accomplished Rolands.
a destruction of the Brissotine or Gironde

exchange connected with counter-revolution proceedings were all brought before the tri and all condemned to die in the mass. M. B a celebrated lawyer, and father of the 1 Carlist leader in our times, happened to cal notary named Martin, a highly respectable wholly unconnected with politics. A few after he had seen him in his office, M. Berry the cart carrying its miserable lading to the of punishment, and to his unspeakable horr M. Martin among the victims. He was exe On inquiry it was found that his name had appended to the bill to authenticate a notar—that is, the protesting of the bill—with therefore he not only had no more concer the paper-maker or ink-seller, who had fur the materials of the instrument, but he a had rather been concerned in a proceeding : its validity. All the parties to it had bee demned in their absence ; and the only qu put to M. Martin was, whether he acknow his handwriting. On his answering in t firmative, he was told that the sentence a to him, and must be executed.* A respe mau, M. Frecot de Lantz, of eighty year bed-ridden for twenty years, and so deaf t was wholly unable to hear the questions put trial, was condemned and executed for 1

* Souvenirs de Berryer, vol. i. p. 219.

riven to South America, brought back a
ed order of the Spanish government for six
d pounds, which no Paris banking-house
discount, denounced ten or twelve of the first
merely because they had refused to honour
ery. Some were executed, others paid vast
r their escape, Couthon declaring that the
owed to Heron the discovery of some of
st, because the wealthiest,† conspirators ;”
other member of the Convention protesting
never knew a better revolutionist.‡ For
ape of one banker, M. Magon de la Balue,
own person, bringing passports ready signed,
blank, demanded twelve thousand pounds.
refused, and the miserable man, against
except the miscreant Heron’s tales, there
not the shadow of a charge, much less any
was hurried to the scaffold.§ The incidents are

numberless of a similar malignant rancour, or so did cupidity ; and no doubt can remain of the facilities which the sanguinary course of the Committee afforded for gratifying all such vile propensities.

Then, as if the Revolutionary Tribunal afforded too little scope for the perpetration of wholesale murder, new expedients of blood were devised. A law was propounded to increase the number of victims, by making four Revolutionary Tribunals sit at the same time, and condemning persons without hearing their defence. It had, as early as October 1793, been decreed that if any trial lasted three days and no sentence was passed, the tribunal might declare its conscience satisfied, close the proceedings, and pronounce judgment. In the June following came the consummation of injustice, the incredible law that if the tribunal was satisfied either with moral conviction or material proof, might without evidence proceed to condemnation. Advocates were by the same infernal law denied parties accused, for the reason assigned, that the patriotic jurors were the protectors of all patriots.

* In Robespierre's hand-writing the draught was found one of these detestable laws. Its preamble sets forth the delays which had occurred from the difficulty of convicting eminent persons, and the scope thus afforded to aristocratic tumults and counter-revolutionary intrigues ; and it gives the ground of the new law, that "It is at once absurd and contrary to the institution of the Revolutionary Tribunal subject to eternal procedure crimes of which a whole nation

and that conspirators deserved no assistance! These laws soon raised the number of victims to seven and eight hundred in a month.*

is the denouncer, and the universe the witness."—It then requires the president to open the fourth day's sitting with a question to the jury, "Is their conscience sufficiently informed?" (*éclairée*); and on an affirmative answer, he is immediately to pronounce sentence. He is also peremptorily required to suffer no questions (*interpellations*), nor any other incident inconsistent with this law. (*Papiers Inédits*, vol. ii. p. 1.)

* In April, May, June, July, 1793, the number of executions was only 41. In the five following months it had risen to 206,—viz. four times as many. In the first three months of 1794 it was 281, or above double that of the former period. But it then went on awfully increasing, so that in May it was 324; in June 672; and in July 895, without reckoning Robespierre and his party, executed at the end of that month. As many as 67 perished in one day, 7th of July. It is a most remarkable fact that a very great proportion of the persons thus put to death were of the most obscure station, and many were women of very advanced age; nor can there be a doubt that the guillotine ministered to the craving of personal and family cupidity, or spite. In the provinces, especially in the south, the same bloody scenes were enacted: the fiery temperament of the people increasing in those parts the violence of faction. Some places are noted for the fury with which the passions were inflamed. At Orange near Aix, in Provence, the worst atrocities were perpetrated. The same place exposed Napoleon's life to imminent hazard when he made his retreat to Elba in 1814. In 1830, its people were so split into violent parties, that each family was divided against itself. Nor can the traveller at this day fail to mark, as he but passes, the fierce aspect of its inhabitants. The atrocities, however, committed by

The revolutionary mode of proceeding, when once adopted at Paris, was extended to the tribunal in the provinces. Indeed we find the constitution of the revolutionary tribunal of Orange planned some weeks before the new system was established in the capital. These are the remarkable directions for its process—concise enough, and abundantly significant:—"Ce tribunal jugera révolutionnairement, sans instruction écrite, et sans assistance de jurés. Les témoins entendus, les interrogations faites, les pièces à charge lues, l'accusateur public entendu, le jugement sera prononcé."* There is an entire omission of the defence, and of all evidence in exculpation.—(*Papiers Inédits*, vol. i. p. 101.) It is remarkable that though the six members to compose the sanguinary court were carefully selected, with power to divide themselves into two courts for expediting their horrid business, not many days elapsed before some of them showed symptoms, if not tenderness, yet at least of regard for justice, as

monster Carrier at Nantes, where the Loire was literally dyed with Royalist blood, have long attained the dread eminence of almost making the other cruelties of the time be forgotten.

* "This tribunal shall try in the revolutionary manner without written indictment, and without jury. After hearing the witnesses, interrogating the accused, reading the documents in support of the charge, and hearing the public prosecutor, sentence shall be pronounced."

of reluctance to commit wholesale murder. The president, Fauvetz, writes to Payan, the national agent of the municipality of Paris, who suffered with Robespierre, that their proceedings, though affording a brilliant contrast with that of the Tribunal of Nîmes—having in six days sentenced 197 persons, which was more than they had done at Nîmes in as many months—were yet hampered and thwarted by the over-scrupulous nature of three of their members; one of whom, Fonrosa, is too fond of forms, and though an “excellent person, yet falls somewhat short of the revolutionary point:” another, Meilleret, “utterly useless in the post he fills, so far as sometimes to acquit counter-revolutionary priests, and to require proofs of guilt, as in the ordinary courts of the old régime.”—“God grant,” ejaculates the pious chief judge, “that Ragot, Ternex, and myself, who are up to the right pace (*qui sommes au pas*), may not be taken ill! Should such a misfortune happen, the tribunal would only distil pure water, and be at best on a level with the ordinary courts of the country.”


This account of the peculiar structure of Fonrosa's understanding, which made him slow in putting innocent men to death, drew from Payan a most warm but affectionate remonstrance; which we find among the documents appended to Courtois's Report. After referring to his own long experience in such proceedings, he earnestly be-

sees him to consider the entire difference between a revolutionary and an ordinary tribunal; that wholly immaterial to ask whether or not the accused has been heard patiently, and at length his defence; but only whether he is guilty or not and that in considering this the judge's conscience is to stand in the place of all the old forms. He exhorts him not to be afraid of the innocent suffering, but only of the guilty escaping; affirming whoever has not been for the Revolution has acted against it, and simply because he has done no public service: and he reminds him that whoever escapes punishment will one day be the death of many Republicans. In fine, he tells him, "I have a great mission to fulfil. Forget that nature has made you a man, and endowed you with reason" (*Oublie que la nature te fit homme et raisonnable*): "remember that all those who affect to be wiser and more just than their colleagues are either crafty conspirators or weak dupes, unworthy of the Republic; and choose between the love of the Republic and the hatred of the people." He closes this singular letter by professions of the purest esteem, which he says, he has dictated it, and by calling on his correspondent to read it over and over again (*recette*), and "especially before trying the wretch whom he has to destroy."—(*Rapport de Fouquier* p. 397.) Fonrosa's answer to this letter, justified himself, would seem to show that there was but

slender foundation for the charge made against him. He only appears to have required that some note should be kept of the names and designations of the parties tried, of the heads of the charges, and of the principal points of the evidence. The small number of clerks, however, rendered this a serious interruption to the work of blood; and hence the impatience of all such formalities testified by the chief judge, to whose letter of complaint I have adverted.

It is needless to multiply examples; but the proceedings at Lyons require a few words. We have, among many other records of these tragical scenes, the correspondence of the principal actor in them, Collot d'Herbois. To some of the letters Fouché's name is also appended; but he has, in private at least, positively denied the authenticity of the subscription, as we shall afterwards see in Lord Stanhope's valuable note.

The accomplishment of Collot's grand object, the destruction of Lyons, is obstructed by the vast number of the inhabitants—150,000; and both he and Couthon are found planning the dispersion of some 100,000 of them over the country, where they might mingle with the Republican population, and become partakers of its civic virtues. However, as far as man could act in such circumstances, Collot boasts of his progress; and he lays down his principles:—"We have revived the action of a



Republican justice," he says, " prompt and terr as the will of the people ! It must strike trai like the lightning, and only leave their ashe existence ! In destroying one infamous and re lious city, you consolidate all the rest. In cau the wicked to perish, you secure the lives of generations of freemen. Such are our princip We go on demolishing, with the fire of artil and with the explosion of mines, as fast as possi But you must be sensible that, with a popula of 150,000 inhabitants, these processes find m obstacles. The popular axe cuts off twenty ho a-day, and still the conspirators are not daun The prisons are choked with them. We h erected a Commission, as prompt in its operati as the conscience of true Republicans trying t tors can possibly be. Sixty-four of these were yesterday on the spot where they had fired on patriots ; two hundred and thirty are to fall day in the ditches where their execrable works vomited death on the Republican army. Th grand examples will have their effect with cities that remain in doubt ; where there are who affect a false and barbarous sensibility, w ours is all reserved for the country."*

* The admixture of private with public feeling is fi in this, as in all the other pieces of the Jacobin corresp ence ; and Robespierre, generally called "*Maximilien*, "*Our dear Maximilian*," is the object of constant allici and tenderness.

Such, in Paris and the provinces, were the proceedings of the Reign of Terror, while the Triumvirate, Robespierre, Couthon, St. Just, bore sway, until at length the discovery of a list, in which many deputies were proscribed and marked for execution, roused the Convention from its slumber of fear, overthrew the tyrants, and restored something like security and freedom to the legislature and the people of Paris, while the analogous proceedings of the provincial clubs and tribunals were also suspended.

We may now pause awhile to contemplate the character, intellectual as well as moral, and to scan the views of the singular men who played the chief parts in that terrible drama, of which we have been observing the successive scenes. And of one thing we may rest fully assured, that they commit a great mistake who ascribe, as was very generally done at the time, no motives but those of mere sanguinary cruelty or insane ambition to their con-

"All those," continues Collot, "who have traversed the revolution with a firm step (that is, unruffled by 'false and barbarous sensibility') are inseparably united together. It is the love of their country that cements the fraternal friendship which knits their hearts together. Give the assurance of my friendship, entire and unalterable, to your Republican family. Squeeze, in my name, Robespierre's hand. Your son, a good citizen, a happy father, already strong in the principles in which he has been brought up," &c. "What a satisfaction for Republicans, the fulfilment of these duties!"

duct. That with most of them their proceedings degenerated into such courses—that the more savage and selfish parts of their nature finally prevailed, and bore them away from every humane affection or virtuous principle, may be very true; and yet most of them began with being the dupes of exaggerated patriotism and public spirit, the sport of a political and philosophic fanaticism; and it was only after these dangerous excesses had steeled their minds against the ordinary impulses of our nature, that they gave themselves up to the propensities of a more vulgar ambition, and indulged in the more common gratification of personal hatred or vengeance. That a familiarity with scenes of blood, both in the field and on the scaffold, had produced its natural effect in hardening the heart, and that the fanatical sentiments of enthusiasm had borne their appointed fruit, or making the sufferings and even extinction of others disregarded when they were the means working towards the end so vehemently desired, can now be doubted.

The records of the Reign of Terror bear constant witness to these positions. But perhaps no such testimony is stronger than that of the correspondence published after Robespierre's downfall in May, 1794: to parts of which I have already referred. The Committee of Public Safety had according to its usual policy of having an emissary

to aid or to control the national representative in every important place, sent M. Julien to Bordeaux, where Ysabeau was suspected of being lukewarm, and to Nantes, where Carrier had rendered himself remarkable for an unscrupulous excess of zeal—an excess, however, which does not appear to have created any very unfavourable feelings towards him on the part of the executive government. We find this emissary writing confidentially to Robespierre respecting the monster Carrier and his atrocious murders; but not a word of execration finds or forces its way into his narrative. He speaks of Royalist soldiers butchered, and of the Loire flowing red with blood; but it is only to express his sorrow for the pestilence engendered by the heaps of corpses, and for the impediments occasioned to the navigation of the river. Whether it be that he dared not reprobate the acts of patriotic butchery, even in writing to his colleague, for fear his letter should be read, and expose him to the fury of zealous citizens, or that he really was callous to all feelings of humanity, needs hardly be inquired into; the inference is the same on either supposition.* The same silence is to be remarked

* *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez Robespierre*, vol. iii. p. 44. This work is of the deepest interest. When the Triumvirate were overthrown at the revolution of the 9th and 10th Thermidor, there were found many papers in the repositories of Robespierre, St. Just, and others. A committee was charged to draw up a report, and Courtois made it to the Convention.

in the correspondence respecting Collot d'Amboise's massacres at Lyons; or rather, Julien brought it as a charge against Ysabeau that he had spoken disrespectfully of those celebrated *fusillades*.^{*} A like remark arises upon a fact communicated by Lord Stanhope, which the reader will find in the interesting notes upon Fouché. When that fanatical revolutionary leader was denying his share in the proceedings at Lyons, and was reminded of reports published in his name jointly with his associate Collot, his answer was that "to have me contradicted in having the share ascribed to me in the massacres would have exposed him to destruction,"—that is, because it would have brought down upon him a disapproval and repudiation of the horrors intended to be done by him.

But though all these scenes ended in perverting the nature of the actors, and even in some degree of the spectators, the chiefs of the Revolution were originally of a better temper, and actuated by purer feelings. This is even, to a certain extent, true of Robespierre, the most remarkable of them all; but it is true of him in a very much lesser measure than of any other revolutionary, except St. Just.

It was printed in one volume. But in 1828 the suppressed papers were published in three volumes, with Court Report.

^{*} *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez Robespierre*, vol. iii. p.

ROBESPIERRE.

It would be difficult to point out within the whole of history, ancient or modern, any person who played so great a part as Robespierre with so much genius. Those who were not brilliant, whose talents were not such as dazzle the vulgar, and thus, by bestowing fame and influence, smooth the way to power, have generally possessed some depth of intellect, some mental force which compensated, far more than compensated, the want of shining talents; or, if their intellectual endowments were moderate, they have by a splendid courage struck into the hearts of mankind; or at least by extraordinary vigour and constitutional firmness of purpose, they have overpowered, though more slowly, all resistance to their will, and with consistency won their way to the head of affairs. Nor are instances wanting, and perhaps Henry IV. of France is the most remarkable, of amiable dispositions gaining the affections of men, and making amends for the want of any very extraordinary gifts either of a moral or an intellectual kind. But in Robespierre we can trace not a vestige of any such

kinds of excellence, if it be not that he was remitting in his pursuit of aggrandisement, had as much firmness in this regard as was consistent with a feeble and cowardly nature. is the secret of his rise to be found in the circumstances of the times ; these were common to candidates for power ; and he who outstrips competitors must have some superiority over the natural or acquired, to account for his success.

It may be admitted, in all probability, that vices had in the peculiar crisis a chief part in mastery which he obtained ; and his early possession of a secret more imperfectly known to others, perhaps only to him in its entirety, was which, when coupled with those great vices, enabled him to act his extraordinary part. He, from the dawn of the Revolution, saw with perfect clearness and precision the disposition of the multitude to be roused, their power when excited, and the manner in which to excite them most surely. He perceived with unerring certainty the magnitude of effect of taking extreme courses, gratifying the disposition to excess, freeing them by removing all restraints, and, above all, avoiding the danger of quenching the flame by any interposition of moderate councils, any thwarting of the spirit that had been raised. The perfectly unscrupulous nature of his mind, the total want of all kindly, gentle feelings, the destitution of even com-

humanity when the purpose of gratifying the propensity to violence was to be accomplished, and the superadded excitement of the war to make the mob first his tools, and then his slaves, enabled him to satiate that thirst, first of destruction, then of fame, which swiftly became a fiercer thirst of power, and while it could hardly be slaked by any draughts of the intoxicating beverage, clothed him with the attributes of a fiend towards all who either would interrupt or would share his infernal debauch.

The frame of his mind was eminently fitted for sustaining as well as devising the part which he played. From his earliest years he had never been known to indulge in the frolics or evince the gaiety of youth. Gloomy, solitary, austere, intent upon his work, careless of relaxation, averse to amusement, without a confidant, or friend, or even companion, it is recorded of him that at the College of Louis le Grand, where he was educated with Camille, Fréron, and Le Brun, he was never seen once to smile. As a boy and a youth he was remarkable for vanity, jealousy, dissimulation, and trick, with an invincible obstinacy on all subjects, a selfishness hardly natural, a disposition incapable of forgiving any injury, but a close concealment of his resentment till the occasion arose of gratifying it, and till he dared to show it in safety. It would have been difficult to bring into the tempest of the

Revolution qualities more likely to weather its fury, and take advantage of its force; but he lacked the courage which alone can enable any man long to "ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm;" for his nature was essentially base and timid, the frame of his body corresponding to the paltriness of his soul. Nature had likewise given warning to the beholder by marking his aspect with a singular ugliness and meanness, which the ravages of the small-pox rendered still more forbidding.

With these defects, and that entire want of generous, or kindly, or even ordinarily human feelings which they betoken or cause, he possessed some qualities which mainly contributed to his elevation, first from the obscurity of a not very eminent practitioner at the not very celebrated bar of Arras, to distinction in the Constituent Assembly; and afterwards from the position of a second-rate debater* to the supreme power in the state, which he wielded during by far the most critical period of French history in any age. His thirst, first of distinction to gratify his inordinate vanity, and then of power to feed the ambition that had grown up in so rank and poor a soil, was inordinate, and, possessing his whole soul, left no place for any rival principle of action, no avenue open to any natural feeling which might dispute

* This underrating applies to his powers as a debater only. His eloquence was unquestionable as a speaker.

for mastery with the ruling passion. From his earliest years, when the question was merely of vanity, this was his nature ; and viewing all rivals, all obstacles, as only to be extirpated and destroyed, he would have killed, if he dared, the competitors for a college prize or a school reward, as remorselessly as he afterwards exterminated the Brissots, the Héberts, and the Dantons, who crossed the path of his ambition. Vanity often prepares the soil for ambition ; but generally like a crop which is to be consumed before the more important growth begins, with which that base weed seldom is seen to grow up. But the personal conceit of Robespierre kept pace with his love of dominion ; affronts offered to it caused many of his murders ; nay, its indulgence seriously affected his power, and it is more than probable hastened his downfall. For the festival in honour of the Supreme Being, the precursor of his fate, and a main assistance to his enemies, was wholly unnecessary for re-establishing religion, and, except ministering to his personal vanity, gained no object but that of exciting distrust and alarm among the infidel parts of the community, without at all reconciling the votaries of Christianity.

From the entire occupation of his mind by the prevailing propensity, proceeded, of course, his exclusive devotion to its gratification.* It may

* My late learned and able friend M. Lakanal, in his valu-

be questioned whether in the whole course of his life Robespierre was for an instant unoccupied with the subject—whether he ever wasted thought upon any other. The effect of this solute devotion is incalculable. It supplies deficiencies; it gives force to very moderate strength of mind; it calls forth the whole resources of the individual; it nerves the faculties with a vigour for want of which far ampler powers are paralyzed; as an insignificant bullet fired from a gun will destroy, when a cannon-ball thrown from the hand falls innocuous at the feet of the object.

From the same exclusive devotion to the pursuit of his whole existence arose also the disregard of all other gratifications, aided possibly by an extremely cold temperament. With the exception of wine, in which he at one period of his life indulged, in order, probably, to soothe his constitutional irritability, and assist the morbid digestion that shed a sallow hue over his repulsive features, he never was known to partake of sensual indulgence.* But the austerity of

able notes upon his Colleagues of the Revolution, he made a few remarks on Robespierre with this line—

"Hoc genus est hominum cupiens præcellere cunctis" as if he deemed personal vanity the distinguishing characteristic of the dictator's nature.

* A connexion has been supposed to have existed between him and the daughter of the family with which he lodged, but the evidence of this is too slight to be relied on.

Republican character, which he so greatly affected, precluded all ordinary pleasures; and he tried this, which cost him nothing, to the same excess with most of his colleagues, excepting only that, in the article of dress, his petty personal vanity made him shun the squalid attire of the other Jacobins, and affect something of the old style of good society. Nay, his room, a handsome *boudoir*, was filled with pictures, prints, and busts of his own frightful person; and he is supposed to have worn green spectacles for the purpose of controlling the timid movements of his eyes.* Avarice he had none, not because with his habits money was an useless incumbrance, for we often see the passion of acquiring keep such pace with that of guarding wealth, that all use of the treasure so eagerly sought after is out of the question; but avarice was no vice or weakness of his, and it would have been as hard to bribe him from his faith with money as to make him compromise his principles, or assumed principles, for place.

He soon acquired, and even retained, the name popular at all times, in revolutions so omnipotent, "*Incorruptible*."† How came it to pass that

* The *Mémoires de Barbaroux*, p. 63, give a similar account of his *boudoir*, but deny the statement of Helen Maria Williams, that his sight was good, and required no glasses.

† I have not thought it worth while in the text to make any remark upon the only pretence anywhere to be found

while all, or nearly all, were equally car money; while the terrible Committee, w disposal of uncounted millions, limited their

of a charge against Robespierre's honesty in money It is a letter printed in the Report of Courtois, a been found among his papers; and it is evidently cation. The reader will find it at p. 221, forming piece of the Appendix; it is also given in the *Inédits*, tom. ii. p. 156. It purports to be a letter fr one unknown, at some place also unknown, respecti supposed to have been intrusted to him for the pu facilitating Robespierre's escape. The first senten victs its author of gross and daring forgery. Who circumstances would do more than allude to the fun his care? But the writer is made to say, "les e vous m'avez fait adresser pour continuer le plan de votre retraite dans ce pays-ci"—(the money you se order to carry on the plan of facilitating your esc this country). He then speaks of Robespierre as fly from a "theatre where he must soon appear appear for the last time;" and goes on to show him l the scaffold the elevation to the chair of the Co (probably meaning at the festival in honour of the D brought him. It proceeds thus: "Since you have s in providing yourself here with a large sum (s sufficient to support you for a long time, as well for whom I have received money from you, I sha you impatiently, that we may laugh together over you will have played in a nation as credulous as it of novelty." Surely a more gross and clumsy fal never was attempted, nor does its publication refle either on the Government that published it, or the in which it appeared. The improbability of Robe keeping such a letter in his repositories is of itself s to destroy its credit.

y and whole expenditure to eight shillings, and all ended their lives in the greatest distress—he alone should be called the “*Incorruptible*?” The reason is to be sought for there than in the freedom from pecuniary temptation; for his possessing the feature common to them all never would have formed a mark of distinction. But as he had early perceived the power of the people—that is, the power of the multitude acting on or overawing the people; so he observed almost as early the favour in their minds of extreme courses; of the unhesitating pursuit of the principle without the least deviation to suit temporary purposes of expediency, or the least scrupulousness to consult prudential views, whether of individual advantage or of public safety; and saw that as whoever most rigidly conformed to this canon, so whoever went further than others, outbidding them in violence and in readiness to all the advantages of compromise, was sure to carry away the chief favour of the unreflecting multitude. By this view was his conduct always guided; and as the people were ever sure to find him foremost among the more violent, ever the head of those who would sacrifice all considerations to the favourite maxims, falsely called *principles*, of the day—laying all prudence on the shelf—giving moderation to the winds—flinging the reins to the dogs, the dogs of war—now crying

"perish the colonies,"—now, *"perish commerce"*—and ever ready to wade through blood, the blood of France, towards the attainment of the darling equality and unbridled licence of the multitude—he was for this hailed as the *"Incorruptible"* that no one could ever doubt on any question which side he would take, and no one could expect other to outstrip his zeal and determination.

There remain some remarkable proofs and illustrations, of unquestionable authenticity (for they are under his own hand), of the extremes to which he had made up his mind, and the enmity which he bore to all the reputable classes of society. The correspondence of his emissaries in various quarters is filled with the like indications. Aristocracy, counter-revolutionary principle, royalism itself, appear not to excite more alarm and hostility among them than mere wealth; and hence *négotiantisme* equal with *modérantisme* is taken for a sure symptom of *incivisme*, and places those who have it alike under grave suspicion. The design of a crusade against property, a general levelling of condition as well as an equality of all civil rights, has been often imputed to Robespierre, and apparently without sufficient foundation. It is certain that such a scheme as an agrarian division of property, was one of the main tenets of the Hébertiste or Cordelier party against whom he made the greatest exertions, exertions which speedily led to their destruction. E

his hatred of the middle classes, and constant appeals to the multitude against the *bourgeoisie*, can in nowise be doubted; and it forms the burthen of his song in many pieces found after his death. Thus, in a kind of civic catechism we find the question, "Who are our enemies?" answered with "The vicious and the wealthy." Again, "What favours their attacks upon us?"—"The ignorance of the multitude, or lower classes" (*sans-culottes*.) In another piece we find this doctrine—"Les dangers intérieurs viennent des bourgeois; pour vaincre les bourgeois il faut rallier le peuple—tout étoit disposé pour mettre le peuple sous le joug des bourgeois—ils ont triomphé à Marseille, à Bordeaux, à Lyon; ils auroient triomphé à Paris sans l'insurrection actuelle. Il faut que l'insurrection actuelle continue—il faut que le peuple s'allie à la Convention, et que la Convention se serve du peuple—il faut que l'insurrection s'étende de proche en proche sur le même plan; que les sans-culottes soient payés et restent dans les villes. Il faut leur procurer des armes, les colerer, les éclairer."*

* "Our internal perils arise from the middle class; to overcome that class we must rally the people. Everything was prepared for subjecting the people to the yoke of the middle class; that class has triumphed at Marseilles, at Bordeaux, at Lyons; it would have triumphed at Paris, but for the present insurrection. This insurrection must continue. The people must ally itself with the Convention, and the Convention must make use of the people. The insurrection

Of the talents of Robespierre I have already spoken in general; but it remains to examine a little more in detail his claims of distinction as a speaker and a writer. There is some difficulty in separating the two characters, because in his time written speeches were far more frequently used than spoken; yet we are not left without proofs of his powers as an orator.

It has been customary with contemporary authors, and especially with those of our own country, to rate his capacity very low; and some with whom I have conversed of his colleagues, represent him as a cold and very second-rate speaker (*médiocre*), whose oratory consisted in a tissue of common-places, with dissertations on virtue, crime, conspiracy, though with a prevailing vein of sarcasm and considerable power of epigram or antithesis. These have described him as very barren of ideas, and by no means possessing facility of composition—which indeed the manuscripts found on his death seemed to prove by the constant and repeated alterations that prevailed through them all. It is to be observed, on the other hand, that General Carnôt expressly gave as one of the means by which he rose to power, his facility of speech and of composition:

must spread gradually on the same plan; the lower classes must be paid to remain in the houses; they must be furnished with arms, enraged, enlightened."—*Papiers Inédits*, vol. ii. pp. 13, 17.

bord (I remember he said) il avoit les paroles
main." Nor can we rely much in opposition
upon the undoubted fact that, when accused
duvet and Barbaroux, he asked for a week to
for his defence. The delay in all probability
very different object from that of making his
case. He was willing that the impression pro-
duced by the charges, and by the ability shown in
his support, should be allowed to wear out at a
time when sudden resolutions were not so often
passed as afterwards, and therefore he could safely
begin his defence; and above all he was most
carefully working with his faithful Jacobins, to defeat
the accusation and carry him through, whatever
might be the effect of the debates in the Conven-

seems, however, that we are not left to con-
sider on his powers as a speaker, even as a de-

Inferior he certainly was to the greatest who
appeared in the Revolution, as Mirabeau, Barnave
his successor, and Vergniaud, perhaps the highest
of the three. But we have abundant proof of his
being very near them, at least in effective decla-
ration, and proof that in readiness he was not easily
surpassed. Let two instances suffice; but they are
notable ones, and they are decisive.

Mont, an adherent of the Lameth party, used
making gestures towards him. He calmly said,
sitting the chair, " M. le Président, je vous prie

de dire à M. Dupont, de ne pas m'insulter, s'il va rester auprès de moi." Then turning alternately to Dupont and the Lameths, he proceeded :

"Je ne présume pas qu'il existe dans cette Assemblée un homme assez *lache*, pour transiger avec cour, sur un article de notre code constitutionnel (all eyes were fixed on the party of Lameth)—as *perfide* pour faire proposer par elle des changements nouveaux, que la pudeur ne lui permettroit pas proposer lui-même (much applause and looks ag directed towards Dupont and the Lameths)—as *ennemi de la patrie* pour chercher décréditer constitution parcequ'elle mettroit quelque born son ambition ou à sa cupidité (more applause)—sez *impudent*, pour avouer aux yeux de la nation qu'il n'a cherché dans la révolution que des moyens de s'aggrandir et de s'élever. Car je ne veux garder certains écrits et certains discours qui pourroient présenter ce sens, que comme l'explosion passagère du dépit déjà expié par le repentir. Ne du moins nous ne serons ni assez stupides, ni assez indifférens, pour consentir à être le jouet éternel l'intrigue, pour renverser successivement les diverses parties de notre ouvrage au gré de quelques ambitieux." Then raising his voice, "Je demande que chacun de vous jure qu'il ne consentira jamais à composer avec le pouvoir exécutif sur aucun article de la constitution sous peine d'être déclaré traître à la nation." The effect of this speech

ectrical, as may well be imagined. The Lameth party had long been on the decline, and this proved their destruction.

The great struggle between the Mountain and the Gironde began with a debate in which Robespierre made a very successful attack upon them; but Vergniaud's reply, notwithstanding the extreme applause which attended his adversary's, greatly exceeded it in power, and won over even many of the Mountain to his side. Very different was the result of the hot conflict between the same redoubtable chiefs on the famous 31st of May, 1793. While Robespierre was going on, "Non ! il faut venger l'armée ! Il faut"—Vergniaud impatiently interrupted him with "Concluez donc"—whereupon Robespierre instantly turned on him, and continued, "Oui ! je vais conclure, et contre vous !—contre vous, qui, après la révolution du 10 Août, avez voulu conduire à l'échafaud ceux qui l'ont faite !—contre vous, qui n'avez cessé de provoquer la destruction de Paris !—contre vous, qui avez voulu sauver le tyran !—contre vous, qui avez conspiré avec Dumouriez !—contre vous, qui avez pourchassé avec acharnement les mêmes patriotes dont Dumouriez demandait la tête !—contre vous, dont les vengeances criminelles ont provoqué les mêmes cris d'indignation dont vous voulez faire un crime à ceux qui sont vos victimes ! Eh bien ! ma conclusion c'est le décret d'accusation contre tous les

complices de Dumouriez, et contre tous ceux qui ont été désignés par les pétitionnaires!" Gironde party were undone; Brissot and two others of their leaders were immediately put on trial, condemned, and executed.

No one at all acquainted with the rhetorics can deny to these passages merit of the highest order. Above all, no one acquainted with the conduct of debate can doubt that they are precisely the kind of passages most surely calculated to attract and to gratify, to control an assembly deliberating on the actual affairs of men. The speaker who delivered himself was plainly gifted with extraordinary eloquence; and however he may have been called down to a frigid, sententious, unimpassioned rhetorician upon occasions of an *epideictic* kind, occasions of mere display like the fête in honor of the Supreme Being, or even when in the Convention his personal vanity and desire of oratorical renown made him overdo his part, it is certain that he was capable of excelling in the art; that he excelled on those great occasions which are fitted to call forth its highest displays; and, sure test of excellence, that he rose with the difficulties opposed to him, meeting with superior power the more pressing exigencies of the occasion.

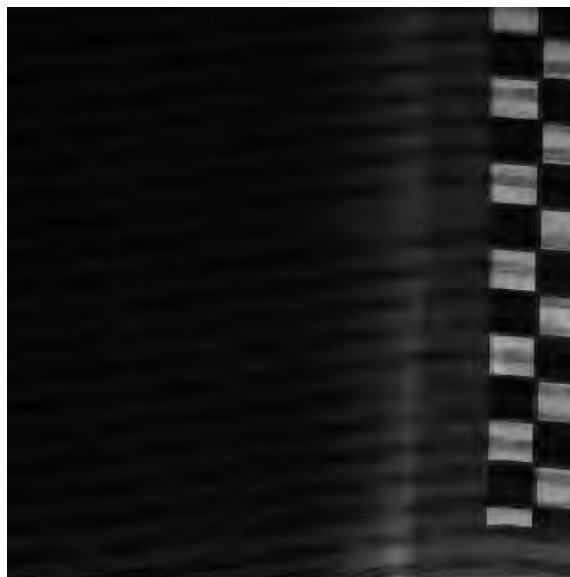
That Robespierre may be tried by this test, naturally turn to his great speech on the 8th of Thermidor, the eve of his downfall; that speech of a

shall presently see that Cambacérés pronounced a high panegyric to Napoleon, himself rather disposed to admire the revolutionary Dictator. Its production of the highest merit, and manifestly executed with extraordinary care as well as skill and art. The passage respecting the fête in honour of the Supreme Being is, for a popular Assembly, perhaps, too splendid, and might be deemed exaggerated; but the taste of the speech generally correct and severe. That he had in various passages the masterpieces of the ancient orators in his eye, can admit of no doubt: but there is nothing to be seen like servile imitation; and even in the licence which most reminds us of the original Demosthenes! nous n'avons pas été trop sévères! J'en

atteste la République qui respire! J'en atteste la représentation nationale environnée du respect de la représentation d'un grand peuple!"—ending with "On parle de notre rigueur, et l'Assemblée nous reproche notre faiblesse"), we find it disgusting in the imitation, but so fruitful as to afford illustrations from the actual state of things, that all notion of pedantic recourse to Demosthenes is at once put to flight. There is also throughout the speech a tone of deep feeling, which was not natural to the speaker, and probably was awakened by the peculiarity of his unprecedented position, and the same singularity of the crisis in which he spoke. The inference will be in the least altered if

osed that these great passages were as temporaneous as they at first appeared. It is very possibly be suggested that on some such occasion, he made a summary, a powerfully elaborated summary, of the history of the Lameths in the one in the other. The style of the most brilliant and modern eloquence, as it may be, the more exquisite oratorical power of skilfully and the posture of the moment, and coming naturally on the sudden, is one of the most difficult art; one which is the latest and rarely employed with signal success of other parts of Robespierre led me to the same conclusion to all of these passages plainly convince that his great eminence as an occasional writer stands

that he owed whatever success he was as a speaker to the indefatigable industry which overcame the natural impediments of a harsh discordant voice, mean and unattractive, slow and hesitating enunciation. He was in every respect complete failures; failures



it shall be supposed that these great passages were not quite so extemporaneous as they at first seem to be. It may very possibly be suggested that, in anticipation of some such occasion, he might have been ready with a summary, a powerfully condensed and exquisitely-elaborated summary, of the charges against the party of the Lameths in the one case and of the Gironde in the other. The same may be said of many of the most brilliant and most successful feats of modern eloquence, as it may of all, or nearly all, the more exquisite oratory of the ancients. But the power of skilfully and suddenly adapting to the posture of the moment, and introducing and using naturally on the sudden, the fruit of previous study, is one of the most difficult parts of the orator's art; one which is the latest learnt and the most rarely employed with signal success. An examination of other parts of Robespierre's speeches has led me to the same conclusion to which a consideration of these passages plainly conducts us; and I conceive that his great eminence as a speaker and an occasional writer stands entirely indisputable.

It is known that he owed whatever success we allow him as a speaker to the indefatigable industry of his nature, which overcame the natural impediments of a harsh discordant voice, mean and hateful aspect, slow and hesitating enunciation. His first efforts were complete failures; failures suffi-

at to dishearten any one not embarked in the quest of distinction with his whole heart, and concentrating all his force in that single pursuit. It was only by slow degrees that he became capable of drawing any attention—became tolerable to his audience. It was also by great labour that he continued to maintain his position as a speaker; and even when his facility had been exceedingly increased by diligent practice and by his eminent position, it was at all times by an effort that he accomplished his purpose. His whole manner was bad as possible.*

Whether Robespierre originally had formed the design of rising to supreme power, or only began to conceive it after events which he could not foresee might seem to place it within his reach, has sometimes been made a question, and, as it appears to me, very erroneously. No person ever began public life with such a plan by which to shape his conduct, and Robespierre most certainly only at last thought of making himself a name and a place among men of political eminence, nor dreamt of rising above all others until the events of August and September, 1792, gave him a prospect of such distinction. With the defects by which his progress was obstructed, his personal defects and want of physical as well as moral courage, any hopes of

* I have, from a most able and skilful critic in an exalted position, an accurate account of his voice and manner—nothing can possibly be worse.

overtopping all his more gifted competitors and at first have been wholly out of the question.

But it is a much more difficult matter to determine how far he originally felt any of the Republican enthusiasm, how far he really entertained any of the levelling principles, which inspired and guided the authors of the first Revolution. His nature was singularly alien from any warmth of temper likely to engender enthusiasm; yet he, from his misanthropic feelings and hatred of those above him, have really acquired something like a zealous antipathy to the established institutions of the country, and something approaching to a fanatical desire for their subversion. It is very possible that at first such feelings may have influenced his conduct; and it is certain that the gratification of his prevailing propensities—first, the thirst of distinction, then the love of power—was quite compatible with indulging in these hostile feelings. Nay, that the two indulgences were such as mutually to aid and to pander for each other. The political and religious enthusiasm which some lenient critics of his life have ascribed to him, had assuredly no other existence. It would be very greatly to exalt his character were we to give him credit for anything like fanaticism in the more ordinary acceptance of the term.

That he went fully into the system of proscription, at least for a certain period, cannot be doubted; but there seems every reason to disbelieve the rem-

made after Danton's death, "Que Robespierre ait mis la Convention en coupe réglée"—(treated the Convention like a forest which he cut down successively by fixed portions). On the contrary, it appears unquestionable that he was really alarmed at the rapid progress of execution, and was desirous of stopping, but embarrassed with the extreme difficulty and danger of doing so, and thus was placed under two great perils, or two fears, when he was himself, like Macbeth—

"So far in blood steeped in,
That turning were as tedious as go o'er."

presenting himself for six weeks not only from the Convention, but from the Committee of Public Safety, attending the Jacobin Club alone, and preparing that extraordinary speech which he delivered the day before his downfall, is a fact which cannot operate in his favour; and although he probably was kept informed, by Couthon and others, of all that passed, he certainly has, in consequence of his absence, considerably less responsibility than his colleagues for the dreadful carnage attended the close of the Decemviral reign. I told Mr. O'Meara, whose authority is unimpeachable,* that he had himself seen

men to know facts unknown to Mr. O'Meara when citing Napoleon's allusions to those same facts, *c. g.*

letters of Robespierre to his brother, represent the people with the army of Nice, which was his determination to bring the Reign of Terror to an end. That he was cut off in the midst of such a plan, which he wanted nerve to execute, is highly probable. That he was condemned at a hearing, and clamoured down by an intrusion of his colleagues Billaud and Collot, whose destruction he had planned, appears to be quite certain.

Cambacérès, an acute observer, and a perfectly candid witness, was asked his opinion of the Thermidor by Napoleon, whose estimate of Robespierre was not unfavourable, he said, "C'était un procès jugé, mais non plaidé." And he added the speech of the day before, which began the struggle, was "filled with the greatest beauty (*tout rempli des plus grandes beautés*). 'Twas his habitual and constitutional want of courage it is clear that the tyrant's fall must be ascribed to; his heart failed not in the Convention when he strove to be heard, and ended by exclaiming, *core une fois! Veux tu m'entendre, Peuple d'assassins?*" But the moment was now past, resisting the plot of his adversaries, and saving himself by destroying them. He had not in time taken his line, which was to sacrifice Billaud and Collot and perhaps Tallien; and then at once to close the Secret Negotiations with Spain in 1806; and thus the Thermidorian reactions were to him unintelligible.

Reign of Terror and abolish the Revolutionary Tribunal. This course required a determination of purpose and a boldness of execution which were foreign to his mean nature, happily for the instruction of mankind; because had he, like Sylla, survived the bloody tyranny in which he had ruled, and, much more, had he laid down the rod, like the champion of the Roman aristocracy, the world, ever prone to judge by the event, and to esteem more highly them that fail not, would have held a divided opinion, if not pronounced a lenient judgment upon one of the most execrable and most despicable characters recorded in the annals of our race.

In fine, that he was, beyond most men that ever lived, hateful, selfish, unprincipled, cruel, unscrupulous, is undeniable. That he was not the worst of the Jacobin group may also be without hesitation affirmed. Collot d'Herbois was probably worse; Billaud Varennes certainly, of whom it was said by Garat, "*Il fauche dans les têtes, comme un autre dans les prés*"—(he mows down heads as another would grass). But neither of these men had the same fixity of purpose, and both were inferior to him in speech. Both, however, and indeed all the revolutionary chiefs, were his superiors in the one great quality of courage; and while his want of boldness, his abject poverty of spirit, made him as despicable as he was odious, we are left in amazement at his achieving the place which he filled,

without the requisite most essential to success in times of trouble, and to regard as his distinguishing but pitiful characteristic the circumstance which leaves the deepest impression upon those who contemplate his story, and in which he is to be separated from the common herd of usurpers, that his cowardly nature did not prevent him from gaining the prize which, in all other instances, has been yielded to a daring spirit.

Such was Robespierre—a name at which all men still shudder. Reader, think not that this spectacle has been exhibited by Providence for no purpose, and without any use! It may serve as a warning against giving way to our scorn of creatures that seem harmless because of the disproportion between their mischievous propensities and their powers to injure, and against suffering them to breathe and to crawl till they begin to ascend into regions where they may be more noxious than in their congenial dunghill or native dust! No one who has cast away all regard to principle, and is callous to all humane feelings, can be safely regarded as innocuous, merely because, in addition to other defects, he has also the despicable weakness of being pusillanimous and vile.

DANTON.

Robespierre's character, and with his talents as a revolutionary chief, may be able to rise in troublous times to great eminence, and even to usurp supreme power, but he will not take the lead in bringing great changes, and never can be a maker of the revolutions of the age, if he may however profit. His rise to dictatorial command may be gained by perseverance, self-denial, by extreme circumspection, by no scruples to interfere with his schemes, by no embarrassment, no feelings to scare him, and all, by taking advantage of circumstances, and turning each occurrence that happens to his advantage. These qualities and this policy may enable him to retain the power which they have enabled him to grasp; but another nature and other endowments are required, and must be added, in order to form a man fitted for the stormy tempest, and directing its fury against the established order of things. Above all, boldness of soul, the callous nerves, the mind

inaccessible to fear, and impervious to the me calculations of personal prudence, almost a blindness sealing his eyes against the perception of consequences as well to himself as to others, is the requisite of his nature who would overturn the ancient system of polity, and substitute a new regimen in its place. For this Robespierre was wholly unfit; and if any man can more than another be termed the author of the French Revolution, it is Danton, who possessed these requisites in perfection.

There can hardly a greater contrast be found between two individuals than that which the remarkable person presented in all respects Robespierre. His nature was dauntless; his temper mild and frank; his disposition sociable; natural rather kind and merciful, his feelings were not blunted to scenes of cruelty by his enthusiasm which was easily kindled in favour of any great object; and even when he had plunged into bloodshed, none of the chiefs who directed those proceedings ever saved so many victims from the tempest of destruction which their machinations had let loose. Nor was there anything paltry or mean in his conduct on these occasions, either in the slaughters which he encouraged or the lives which he saved. No one has ever charged him with sacrificing any to personal animosity, like Robespierre and Collot d'Herbois, whose adversaries

fore the Revolutionary Tribunal, or those whom offended vanity made them bear a and it is certain that he used his influence in ing the escape of many who had proved his l enemies. His retreat to Arcis-sur-Aube, s refusal to enter the Committee of Public and finally his self-sacrifice by protesting the sanguinary course of that terrible power, o doubt whatever resting upon his general city in character and in feelings to almost other chiefs.

natural endowments were great for any part ic life, whether at the bar or in the senate, t in war : for the part of a revolutionary they were of the highest order. A courage nothing could quell ; a quickness of percep- once and clearly to perceive his own oppor- and his adversary's error ; singular fertility urces, with the power of sudden change in rse, and adaptation to varied circumstances ; al eloquence springing from the true source loquence—warm feelings, fruitful imagina- ounterpowerful reason, the qualities that distinguish t the mere rhetorician's art,—but an elo- hardy, caustic, masculine ; a mighty frame y ;* a voice overpowering all resistance ;

as his own expression, "*La Nature m'a donné en les forces athlétiques et la physiognomie Apre de la*" (Nature has given me for my portion the athletic

these were the grand qualities which Danton brought to the prodigious struggle in which he was engaged and ambition and enthusiasm could, for the moment deaden within him those kindlier feelings which would have impeded or encumbered his progress to eminence and to power. That he was extremely zealous for the great change which he so essentially promoted, cannot admit of a doubt; and there is no reason whatever for asserting that his ambition, or any personal motive, overtopped his honest though exaggerated enthusiasm. The zeal of St. Just and Camille Desmoulins was, in all probability, as sincere as Danton's; but they, especially St. Just, suffered personal feelings to interfere with it, and control their conduct to a very much greater extent; and their memory, especially St. Just's, is exposed to far more reproach for their conduct in the bloody scenes to which the Revolution gave birth.

The speeches of Danton were marked by a fire, an animation, very different from anything that we find in those of Robespierre, and the other leaders of the Revolution, except perhaps Isnard, the most ardent of them all. In Danton's eloquence there appears no preparation, no study, nothing got up for mere effect. We have the whole heart of the man poured forth; and accordingly he rises upon strength and harsh expression of Freedom.) He was marked with the small-pox like Robespierre, but had a masculine countenance, broad nostrils, forward lips, and a bold air wholly unlike his.

any incidental interruption, and is never confounded by any tumult or any attack. In one particular, as might be expected from his nature, he stands single among the great speakers of either France or England—the shortness of his speeches. They are, indeed, harangues prompted by the occasion; and we never lose the man of action in the orator. If we were to look for a specimen of his manner, perhaps none could be found better or more characteristic than his reply to the attack made upon him by Lasource, whom the Gironde put forward to charge him with his known partiality for Dumouriez. Danton was then the recognised leader of the Mountain; and the fierce struggle between that party and the Gironde having begun, the latter deemed it a great advantage to connect their adversaries, through him, with Dumouriez, whose treason was now avowed. The success of Danton's defence was complete, and paved the way for the subsequent denunciation of the Gironde. The speech is full of extempore bursts which have great merit, and produced an extraordinary impression. It may suffice to give the passage in which he denounced the Gironde. It follows his sudden retort on the cry that he was playing with Dumouriez the part of Cromwell. The success of that retort appears to have suggested and sustained the denunciation:—

“Si donc ce n'est que le sentiment profond de vos devoirs qui a dicté son arrêt de mort (Louis

XVI.) ; si vous avez cru sauver le peuple et faire en cela ce que la nation avait droit d'attendre de ses mandataires : ralliez-vous, vous qui avez prononcé l'arrêt du tyran, contre les lâches (*turning to the right—the Gironde*) qui ont voulu le sauver ; serrez-vous, appelez le peuple à se réunir en armes contre les ennemis du dehors, et écraser ceux du dedans ; confondez par la vigueur et l'immobilité de votre caractère tous les scélérats, tous les aristocrates, tous les modérés, tous ceux qui vous ont calomniés dans les départemens. Plus de composition avec eux ! (*Extraordinary applause, in which the galleries joined.*) Reconnaissez-le tous, vous qui n'avez jamais su tirer de votre situation politique dans la nation le parti que vous auriez pu en tirer, qu'enfin justice vous soit rendue. Vous voyez par la situation où je me trouve en ce moment la nécessité où vous êtes d'être fermes, et déclarer la guerre à tous vos ennemis, quels qu'ils soient. (*Renewed applause.*) Il faut former un phalange indomptable. Ce n'est pas vous, puisque vous aimez, les sociétés populaires et le peuple ; ce n'est pas vous qui voudrez un roi. (*More shouts ; loud cries of Non ! non ! from the great majority of the Convention.*) C'est à vous à en ôter l'idée à ceux qui ont machiné pour conserver l'ancien tyran. Je marche à la république — marchons-y de concert : nous verrons qui de nous ou de nos detracteurs atteindra le but."

"* If, then, it be the profound sense of duty which de-

the great power of this declamation is inconceivable. His concluding sentence savoured of the generation and defective taste which marked many of his harangues:—

Je me suis retranché dans la citadelle de la raison ; j'en sortirai avec le canon de la vérité ; je pulvériserai les scélérats qui ont voulu me trahir. ”*

the condemnation of the King—if you conceived that thereby saved the people, and thus performed the service which the country had a right to expect from its representatives, you who pronounced the tyrant's doom ; rally the brave against the cowards who would have spared him ; rally your ranks ; call the people to assemble in arms against the enemy without, and to crush the enemy within ; conclude, by the vigour and steadfastness of your character, all the wretches, all the aristocrats, all the moderates, all those who have slandered you in the provinces. No more compromise with them ! (*Immense applause, in which the galleries joined.*) Proclaim this, you who have never made your personal position available to you as it ought to be, and let us at length be done you ! You perceive, by the situation in which I at this moment stand, how necessary it is that you should be firm, and declare war on all your enemies, against who they may. (*Renewed applause.*) You must be an indomitable phalanx. It is not you, who love the tyrant and the people, that desire a King. (*Loud cries of No !*) It is your part to root out such an idea from the minds we have contrived to save the former tyrant. For me, I march onwards to a republic ; let us all join in the advance ; shall soon see which gains his object—we or our enemies ! ”

* I have entrenched myself in the citadel of reason ; I

Such violent metaphors of a vulgar class D could venture upon, from his thundering and overpowering action. In another they have excited the ridicule from which those phy attributes rescued them in him.

A charge of corruption has often been bro against Danton, but upon very inadequate gro The assertion of Royalist partisans that he stipulated for money, and the statement of one he knew of its payment, and had seen the re (as if a receipt could have passed), can si really nothing, when put in contrast with the ki facts of his living, throughout his short p career, in narrow circumstances, and of his fa being left so destitute that his sons are at this leading the lives of peasants, or, at most, of hu yeomen, and cultivating for their support a s paternal farm in his native parish. The differ between his habits and those of the other g leaders gave rise to the rumours against his pu He was almost the only one whose life was not str ascetic. Without being a debauched man, h indulged in sensual pleasures far more than c shall sally forth with the artillery of truth ; and I crumble to dust the villains who have presumed to accuse

It must be remarked that such passages as the form all languages, are hardly possible to translate ; for the more or less conversational in their diction, and exceed idiomatic. The fustian of the last extract is more ea render.

h the rigid republican character ; and this
e of the charges which, often repeated at
en a fanatical republicanism had engen-
ritan morality, enabled Robespierre, him-
all suspicion of the kind, to work his

riarchs of the Revolution, who till late
and whom I knew, such as M. Lakanal,
d Danton to be identified with the Revo-
l its principal leader. In fact, the 10th
t, which overthrew the monarchy, was
ar work. He prepared the movement,
e body of his section (the Cordeliers)
march first through the Assembly, de-
with threats of instant violence, the
position, then attacking the palace to
eir requisition. When, soon after that
day, the Prussians were advancing
is, and in the general consternation
nly was resolved to retreat behind
he alone retained his imperturbable
of mind, and prevented a movement
t have proved fatal, because it would
ered over Paris to the Royalists and the
ies. The darkest page in his history,
wiftly follows his greatest glory. He
ner volume I had expressed myself respecting
a harshness which a more minute study of his
character makes me regret.

was Minister of Justice during the dreadful massacres of September, and he was very far from exerting his power to protect the wretched victims from mob fury. On that occasion was pronounced a famous speech already cited on the necessity of bold measures—a speech by which he was known, and will be long remembered, throughout all Europe. Other traits of his vehement nature are still recorded. When interrogated at his trial his answer was, “Je m’appelle Danton ; mon séjour sera bientôt le néant ; mon nom vivra dans le panthéon de l’histoire.” When taking leave of his young and fair wife, and for a moment melted to the use of some such expressions as, “Oh, bien aimée ! faut-il que je te quitte ?”—suddenly recovering himself, he exclaimed, “Danton, perd de faiblesse ! Allons en avant !”—And the same bold front was maintained to the end. His murder was the knell of Robespierre’s fate ; and when choked with rage on his own accusation, and unable to make himself heard, a voice exclaimed, “C’est le sang de Danton qui t’étouffe !” (It is the blood of Danton that chokes you !) But it may be admitted to have been a fine, a just, and an impressive lesson which, goaded by the taunt, the tyrant, collecting his exhausted strength for a last effort, delivered to his real accomplices, the popular creatures who had not dared to raise hand, or even a voice, against Danton’s murder.

"Lâches ! que ne le défendiez-vous donc ?" (Cowards ! then why did you not defend him ?) On the scaffold, where Danton retained his courage and proud self-possession to the last, the executioner cruelly and foolishly prevented him from embracing, for the last time, his friend Hérault de Seychelles, a man of unsullied character, great acquirements, and high eminence at the bar, as well as of noble blood :* "Fool !" exclaimed Danton indignantly, and with the bitter smile of scorn that often marked his features, "Fool ! not to see that our heads must in a few seconds meet in that basket !"

The fall of Danton and of his faithful adherent Camille has ever been regarded as one of the most surprising events in the Revolution. His habitual boldness, and the promptitude with which he always took and pursued his course, seems for the moment to have forsaken him ; else surely he could have anticipated the attack of the Committee, which was fully known before-hand. The Triumvirate had become generally the objects of hatred and of dread. The Gironde, though broken and dispersed, and hostile to Danton, as well as to the other partisans of the Mountain, were the last men to approve the course which had been followed since the de-

* He was nephew of Madame de Polignac, favourite and confidante of the Queen, through whose influence he had been appointed to a high legal situation.

struction of their leaders, and were anything but reconciled to mob government, which they had always detested and scorned, by the desperate excesses to which it had led. On the scattered fragments of that once powerful party, then, he might well have relied. Even if he was ignorant of the impatience which Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, Legendre, and others, felt under the Triumviral domination, and which the two former had not yet perhaps disclosed, he never could have omitted the consideration that some of them, especially Legendre, had before, and prematurely, given vent to their hostile feelings towards Robespierre, and were therefore sure to display them still more decidedly now that he was so much less powerful, and had so much more richly earned their aversion. As for the charges against Danton, they were absolutely intangible: the speech of Robespierre, and report of St. Just, presented nothing like substantial grounds of accusation, even admitting all they alleged to be proved. Their declamation was vague and puerile, asserting no offence, but confined to general vituperation; as that he abandoned the public in times of crisis, partook of Brissot's calm and liberticide opinions, quenched the fury of true patriots, magnified his own worth and that of his adherents: or flimsy and broad allegations of things wholly incapable of proof; as that all Europe was convinced of

and Lacroix having stipulated for royalty, he had always been friendly towards Du-
Mirabeau, and d'Orléans. The pro-
of Legendre, to hear him before decreeing
ecution, was rejected by acclamation; and
ort of St. Just against him, though, by a
nt of injustice, as well as an excess of false
, addressed to him in one continued apo-
of general abuse an hour long, was delivered
oted in his absence, while he was buried
ungeons of the state prison. The Revo-
y Tribunal, for erecting which he asked
of God and man, having nothing like a
charge before them, much less any evi-
convict, were daunted by his eloquence
courage, which were beginning to make
ession upon the public mind, when the
tee sent St. Just down to the Convention
econd report, alleging a new conspiracy,
e *Conspiracy des Prisons*—an alleged
f Danton and his party, then in custody,
out of the dungeons, and massacre the
tee, the Jacobin Club, and the patriots in
vention; liberate young Capet, that is,
VII., and place him in Danton's hands.
his most clumsy fabrication, every word of
efuted itself, it was at once decreed that
nal should proceed summarily, and prevent
of the accused being heard who should resist

or insult the national justice—that is, who s persist in asserting his innocence.* Sentence execution immediately followed.

These circumstances make it apparent that ton's supineness in providing for his own safe attacking the Committee first, must have proc from the ascendant which the Triumvirate gained over his mind. Originally he had a opinion of Robespierre, holding him void o qualities which a revolutionary crisis dem "Cet homme-là [was his phrase] ne saurai cuire des œufs durs"—(that man is incapab boiling eggs hard). But this opinion was wards so completely changed, that he was u say, "Tout va bien tant qu'on dira Robespier Danton; mais malheur à moi si on dit j Danton et Robespierre"—(all will go well as as men say "Robespierre and Danton;" but be to me if ever they should say "Danton Robespierre"). Possibly he became sensib the power of Robespierre's character, for persisting in extreme courses, and plunging on beyond any one, with a perfect absence of all ples in his remorseless career. But his dre such a conflict as these words contemplate assuredly much augmented by the feeling th match must prove most unequal between his

* This proceeding, of stopping the accused's mouth on his trial, was termed putting a person *hors des débats*.

esty and openness, and the practised duplicity of the most dark, the most crafty of human beings. The impression thus become habitual on his mind, and which made him so distrustful of himself in combat with an adversary like the rattlesnake, whose terrible and despicable, whose rattling giving of the neighbouring peril, may go far to tempt for his avoiding the strife till all precaution is too late to save him. But we must also take into our account the other habitual feeling, so destructive of revolutionary nerves; the awe which the children of convulsion, like the practitioners of the dark art, stand of the spirit they have themselves conjured up; their instinctive feeling of the agonistic throes which they have excited in the mass of the community, and armed with resistless energy. The Committee, though opposed and divided against itself, still presented to the country the front of the existing sovereign power in the state; it was the sovereign power, *de facto*, and retained as such all those preter-natural attributes that "do hedge in" monarchs when tottering to their fall: it there-impressed the children of popular change with the awe which they instinctively feel towards the sovereign People. Hence Danton, viewing in Marianne the personification of the multitude, did not at once make up his mind to fly in the face of this dread power; and his hesitation

enabled his adversaries to begin mortal fray and win their last victory. Plainly, it was a strife in which the party that began was sure to earn the day.

The history of Danton, as well as that of Robespierre, both those passages wherein they were jointly successful, and those in which one fell beneath the power and the arts—the combined force and fraud—of the other, is well calculated to impress upon our minds that, in the great affairs of the world, especially in the revolutions which change its condition, the one thing needful is a sustained determination of character; a mind firm, persevering, inflexible, incapable of bending to the will of another, and ever controlling circumstances not yielding to them. A quick perception of opportunities, a prompt use of them, is of infinite advantage; an indomitable boldness in danger is all but necessary: nevertheless Robespierre's career shows that it is not quite indispensable; while Danton's is a proof that a revolutionary chief must possess it habitually, and may yet be destroyed by a momentary loss of nerve, or a disposition to take the law from others, or an inopportune hesitation and faltering in recurring to extreme measures. But the history of all these celebrated men shows that steady, unflinching, unscrupulous perseverance—the fixed and vehement will—is altogether essential to success. “*Quod vult, id valde vult,*”

one great man formerly of another, to whom
died less strikingly than to himself, though
s fated to experience in his own person that
far from being inapplicable to him of whom
d it. It was the saying of Julius Cæsar re-
ng Junius Brutus, and conveyed in a letter
e who, celebrated, and learned, and virtuous
was, and capable of exerting both boldness
rmness upon occasion, was yet, of all the
men that have made their names illustrious,
ne who could the least claim the same ha-
character for himself. Marcus Tullius
never have risen to eminence in the Revo-
of France, any more than he could have
ed in the scenes which disgracefully distin-
ed* it from the troubles of Rome.

he only respect, perhaps, in which this can justly be
d is the profanation of judicial forms, and the de-
course of misrule pursued in France by the leaders,
mitted to by the people. The massacres of Marius
ylla were far more sanguinary, but they were the
and passing effects of power—mere acts of military
ion. The scene in France lasted much above a year.

CAMILLE DESMOULINS.—ST. JUST.

THE great leaders whom we have been contemplating had each a trusty and devoted follower, Danton in Camille, and Robespierre in St. Just; and these in some sort resembled their chiefs, except only that St. Just was more enthusiastic than Robespierre, and was endowed with perfect courage, both physical and moral.

Camille had long before the Revolution ardently embraced republican opinions, and only waited with impatience for an opportunity of carrying them into effective operation. He was a person of good education, and a writer of great ability. His works are, excepting the pamphlets of Sièyes, the only ones, perhaps, of that countless progeny with which the revolutionary press swarmed, that have retained any celebrity. The very names of the others have perished, while the periodical work of Camille, the *Vieux Cordelier*, is still read and admired. This exemption from the common lot of his contemporary writers, he owes not merely to the remarkable crisis in which his letters appeared,

beginning of general disgust and alarm at the urinary reign of the Triumvirate; these pieces exceedingly well written, with great vigour of ght, much happy classical allusion, and in a far more pure than the ordinary herd of those oyed who pandered for the multitude.

at the merit of Camille rises very much above literary fame which writers can earn, or the pub-ice can bestow. He appears ever to have been end to milder measures than suited the taste of imes, and to have entirely agreed with Danton s virtuous resistance to the reign of blood. At very beginning of the Revolution he had con- ted mainly to the great event which launched the attack upon the Bastille. He harangued people, and then led them on, holding two d pistols in his hands. He also joined Danton e struggle which the Mountain made against rironde, and is answerable for a large share in roscription of that party, firmly believing, as on did, that their views were not purely re- ionary, and that their course must lead to a ration of the monarchy. He was at first, too, moter of mob proceedings and the mobs that lated them, his nickname being the "Pro- ir Général de la Lanterne" (*Attorney-Ge- l of the Lamp-post*). But there ended his ; in the bloody tragedy which followed; and egarded with insurmountable aversion the

whole proceedings of the Triumvirate theless, Robespierre, who had resolved on destruction because of his intimate connexion with Danton, so far entered into his views of the speed of the proscriptions as to approve the earlier numbers of the *Vieux Cordelier*, which were revised and corrected before their publication. There is even good reason for believing that Camille might have escaped the proscription involved Danton and his party, through the position of Robespierre not having been so favourable to him, because it seems certain that his doctrine in favour of returning to moderate courses was not so much dreaded by the terrible chief as by others, especially St. Just. But a sarcastic expression in which he indulged at the expense of that vain and remorseless man sealed his doom. St. Just was always put to shame with his sense of self-importance, and showed so plainly in his demeanour that Camille carried his head like the holy sacrament (*Saint Sacrement*)—"and I," said St. Just, the sneer being reported to him, which was the merit of giving a very picturesque description of the subject, "and I will make him carry his head like St. Denis," alluding to the legend of the saint having walked from Paris to his execution carrying his head under his arm.

Camille met death with perfect boldness,

indignation at the gross perfidy and crying
 vice to which he was sacrificed enraged him
 to make his demeanour less calm than his
 courage would have prescribed, or than his
 Héroult de Seychelles desired. "Montrons,
 ami," said he, "que nous savons mourir"
 us show, my friend, that we know how to

is a remarkable circumstance in the history
 amille, that he was wholly precluded by an
 able hesitation from speaking in public, and
 equently could take no part in debate. Nothing
 show more conclusively than the station to
 h he rose in the annals of the Revolution, that
 ory, mere speaking, bore a far more incon-
 able part in the conduct of affairs than it
 lly does in the administration of popular
 nments. The debates of the Convention
 for the most part short, full of quick and
 en allusions, loaded with personalities and
 nding in appeals to the popular feelings, but
 few long or elaborate speeches. The principal
 s appear to have been bestowed upon the
 rts of the Committees, which were eagerly
 ned to and produced a great effect, by the
 rtance of their subjects and the authority of
 bodies from whom they proceeded. In general,
 debates resembled more the practical discussions
 men engaged in action than the declamations

or the arguments of debaters. Thus oratory of less avail than might have been expected in action of so popular a government. It should be that such a government must be settled before its influence can have its full scope. "*Pacis comes, otii socia, et jam bene constitutæ reipublicæ alunt eloquentia.*" (*Cic.*) Other qualities raise him above his compeers while the popular tempest rages. A fixed purpose, a steady pursuit of one object, an assurance given to the people that he may be relied upon at all times and to every extent, constant security against all wavering, a certainty that no circumstances in his conduct will ever leave anything to explain or account for, nay, a persuasion that nothing unexpected by those who have confidence in his past life has gained will ever be done so as to excite surprise and make men exclaim, "Who could have thought it? This from him? Then what next?"—these are the qualities which far outweigh all genius for debate in the troublous times that try men's souls, fill all minds with anxiety, and open the door to general suspicion.

Without any gifts of wealth or of station, without even the common faculty of expressing himself in public, with no professional or other station to sustain him, a man necessarily unknown, at first altogether, and afterwards only known by his fidelity, his devotion to republican principles, and his steady adhesion to one party and one chief, Camille

he one of the leading men in the Convention of the State, and had gained this high position because he was known as a writer of singular letters; for his celebrated letters were only produced towards the very close of his life. It was, doubt, an additional cause of his elevation, and probably first recommended him to the public for which he had so little means of improving, he began early to support the revolutionary movement, and had, before the great events of 1793, declared himself a friend of republican principles. So it was with Couthon, a provincial orator in Auvergne, and as unfitted for action by a paralytic stroke, which deprived him of the use of his limbs, as Camille was by the stutter

which deprived him of the use of his tongue. Yet Couthon formed the third of the famous Triumvirate which exercised for above a year—an age in revolutionary times—the dictatorship of France. Couthon represented as a person of an engaging aspect and noble presence, notwithstanding the grievous infirmity with which he was stricken. When any resolutions of peculiar severity were to be propounded, he was always chosen by the Committee to bring them forward, and he was remarkable for uttering the most atrocious and pitiless sentiments in a tone which with a manner the most affectionate and tender, in the presence of his colleagues, he practised on great occasions some of those strokes for stage effect that

so powerfully affect the minds of the multitude and of the French more than perhaps any other being confounded with the sublime, and border generally upon the ludicrous. When the destruction of Lyons had been decreed, he had him carried to the great place, and gave the signal the work of demolition with a hammer, and command or sentence in these words, "Je condamne à être démolie au nom de la loi" (condemn thee to destruction in the name of law).

The nature of the debates in the Convention has been already adverted to. They were constantly interrupted by the utmost violence of individuals and parties, so as to set at nought attempts of the President to keep any semblance of order. The scene was often one of perfect confusion, in which his bell tolled in vain, his hat was in vain put on, and he occasionally left the chair in despair of maintaining even outward appearance of order. The two cardinal points upon which hinge the whole regularity and independence of the proceedings in our popular assembly were wholly wanting in the French Convention—the chair was not supported and deferred to by common consent as representing the majority of the whole body, and the strangers admitted to the galleries (*tribunes*) were not there upon sufferance, ready to be instantly excluded if they

at least particular presumed to interfere with proceedings.

The licence and the personalities in which the members were wont to indulge with levity and the humour formed a strange and even appalling contrast to the dreadful work in which they were engaged.—Legendre was a butcher, and that he imported the habits of his trade into his political sphere appears plainly enough from his position to have the King's body cut into twenty-three portions, and distributed among the several departments. His calling was not unfrequently brought up against him in the Convention. "Fais-toi, massacreur de bœufs!" said one when he was denouncing. "C'est que j'en ai aimé qui avoient plus d'esprit que toi!" was

the butcher's immediate reply.—Another being in the defence against a motion for a decree of execution to put him on his trial, Legendre then rising said, "Décrète qu'il soit mis"—"Décrète," said the other, interrupting him, "décrète que tu sois bœuf, et tu m'assommeras toi-même."—

These passages remind one of the grotesque humours of the fiends in 'Paradise Lost,' whose scoffing and derision in their "gamesome mood" Milton has so ably painted, to the extreme displeasure, no doubt, of his prudish critic, in whose estimation it is by "far the most exceptionable passage of the whole poem."*

Addison, 'Spectator,' No. 279. The dialogue of mutual

The talent which Camille displayed as a writer has been alluded to ; it might not appear to be of highest order were we considering the merit of who was a mere author. But he also played a part among the actors in the scenes of the time and of those he stands certainly highest as a man of composition. There is nothing vile or low in his taste, like that most base style of extravagant figure and indecent and even obscene allusion which disgusts us in the abominable writings of the Héberts and the Marats ; nor are our feelings shocked by anything of the same ferocity which reigned through their constant appeals to the brutal passions of the savage mob. On the contrary, allusions are chiefly classical, the sentiments generally humane, the diction refined. Seven pages only of his most celebrated work, '*Le Vieux Cordelier*,' appeared before his moderate countrymen hurried him to the scaffold. But from one of these a passage may be selected for a fair sample of his powers as a writer. It is his appeal to the Convention, awakening their courage, and urging them to condemn the danger of stemming the ultra-revolutionary torrent ; and it must be allowed that the topic of illustration is happily chosen, and is certainly handled with ability :—

sarcasm between Adamo and Sinon in Dante's '*Inferno*' would have given the same offence to the critic ; and the poet seems as if conscious of the offence he was offering to squeamish persons when he makes Virgil chide his listeners for listening to such ribaldry.

“Eh quoi ! lorsque tous les jours les douze cent mille soldats du peuple Français affrontent les toutes hérissées de batteries les plus meurtrières, volent de victoires en victoires, nous, députés à Convention, nous, qui ne pouvons jamais tomber, comme le soldat, dans l'obscurité de la nuit, fusillés dans les ténèbres, et sans témoins de sa valeur ; nous, dont la mort soufferte pour la liberté ne peut être que glorieuse, solennelle, et en présence de la nation entière, de l'Europe, et de la postérité, sommes-nous plus lâches que nos soldats ? Craignons-nous de nous exposer, de regarder Bouchotte en face ? N'oserons-nous braver la grande colère du Père Duchesne,† pour remporter aussi la victoire que le peuple Français attend de nous, la victoire sur les ultra-révolutionnaires comme

sur les contre-révolutionnaires ; la victoire sur tous les intrigans, tous les fripons, tous les ambitieux sur les ennemis du bien public ?”‡

† A Terrorist general of the Hébert faction.

‡ The name of Hébert's infamous journal.

“What ! While the twelve hundred thousand soldiers the French people each day face the redoubts bristling with the most destructive batteries, and fly from victory to victory, shall we—we, the representatives of that people in Convention, we, who cannot fall, like soldiers, in the security of night, killed in the dark, and with no witness of our valour—we, whose death for liberty cannot but be glorious, solemn, in the presence of the whole nation, of Europe, and of posterity—shall we be more timid than our troops ? Shall we be afraid of exposing ourselves, of

mentality, which composed his speeches was unprofitable. Like all such authors, he made exclamation and apostrophe for pathos. The sage on the King's trial is far from being an specimen of his manner; and nothing can be worse. After alluding to Louis XVI.'s kindness of disposition and his charities, he fell out into this rhapsody:—

“Louis outrageait la vertu; à qui paraîtra désormais innocente? Ainsi donc, âmes sensibles si vous aimez le peuple, si vous vous attachez sur son sort, on vous évitera avec horreur la fausseté d'un roi qui travestissait le sentiment; permettrait plus de vous croire; on rougirait paraître sensible.”*

Hardly any of the revolutionary chiefs possessed less shining talents than St. Just; none of themselves more unscrupulous in the pursuit of victory; none more careless of the crimes instigated or perpetrated. His maxim that one can rule in France innocently” (*on ne peut pas innocemment en France*), if followed up to its practical consequences, was the direct and

* “Louis outraged virtue: to whom will she be appear innocent? Thus, ye feeling hearts, if you love people, if you are melted at seeing their lot, you will be shunned with horror; the falsehood of a king who is himself in sentiment will not suffer you to gain credit by your professions. Men will henceforth blush to be tender-hearted.”

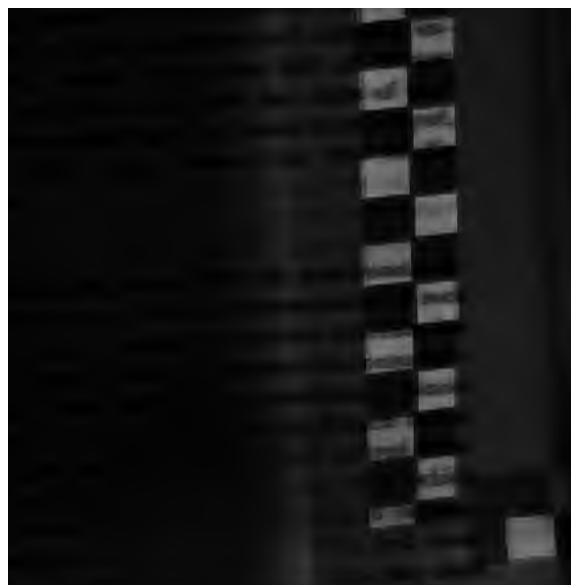
any enormity that ambition could commit in the name of dominion.

It should seem as if, in casting their several votes, the Decemvirs of the Committee well understood each other's propensities, if not their several capacities. While the war-department was committed to Carnôt, who by common consent was the most singularly fitted to conduct it, others might be less qualified for their departments than Carnôt was for his, but all were apparently chosen with a view at least to their several tastes, if not to their talents. The care of the police and of whatever measures were required for maintaining or exciting the popular feelings, was given to Robespierre; the proposal of violent proceedings to the mild-spoken and, from his infirmities, inoffensive Couthon; while the reports to the Convention fell upon Barrère,

whose want of determined or distinct principles and character, as well as his easy eloquence, seemed peculiarly to fit him for this task; and to the suspicious, implacable St. Just belonged the watching and denunciation of political offenders, including of course the extensive system of spy-craft (*espionnage*) kept in perpetual activity. It should seem, however, as if Robespierre himself employed spies apart from his colleagues. Curious reports of these agents were found among his papers, and have been made public. The circumstances seized upon by the watchful eyes of those vile wretches

tracing his whole motions during going to the Convention he gave while reports were read of matters to the state. (*Papiers Incédits*, Of another (Thuriot) it is told, that quitting him said, "Ne tarde pas (*Ib.* p. 371.) Of Legendre it is minute account of all the insigni did during the morning, that he "teriously with some one, and that b avoid the crowd." (*Ib.* p. 367.)

It is not to be forgotten, in relative deservits of the Triumvir the most sanguinary period of the was the last month of its duration already seen; and what whole Robespierre absorbed from as well as the Convention.



are all of the most trivial nature, and demonstrate the readiness with which everything and anything becomes matter of charge under such a regimen. Of one deputy (Bourdon de l'Oise) it is said, after tracing his whole motions during the day, that on going to the Convention he yawned repeatedly while reports were read of matters advantageous to the state. (*Papiers Inédits*, vol. i. p. 370.) Of another (Thuriot) it is told, that some one upon quitting him said, "Ne tarde pas" (make haste). (*Ib.* p. 371.) Of Legendre it is said, after a minute account of all the insignificant things he did during the morning, that he "conversed mysteriously with some one, and that both appeared to avoid the crowd." (*Ib.* p. 367.)

It is not to be forgotten, in considering the relative demerits of the Triumvirate, that by far the most sanguinary period of the Reign of Terror was the last month of its duration, as we have already seen; and during the whole of that period Robespierre absented himself from the Committee as well as the Convention. It is true that he was engaged in supporting possibly the system, certainly his own party in it, at the Jacobin Club, and with the municipality of Paris; and he most probably was aware of all that passed among his colleagues in his absence. But the details at least of these wholesale murders, the *journées* (or batches), as they were quaintly termed, were left to the un-

linching hands of the pitiless Couthon and the ferocious St. Just. Nor is it to be kept out of view that this detestable youth urged upon the tyrant a measure from which even his savage nature recoiled (if indeed it be not that his nerves gave way at the prospect), a measure of sweeping extermination, which would have left all former atrocities excluded from their due share of execration with aftertimes, and must have stayed, possibly might have averted, the fate of the Dictators.

The reflection which after all most constantly arises in the mind from the contemplation of such dreadful scenes, is the one to which reference has in part already been made towards the commencement of these details—an astonishment almost amounting to incredulity that the French nation could have stood by, and seen and suffered them to be enacted. Everything was done which human wickedness could accomplish to outrage the strongest feelings of our nature, and those feelings of every description; for while the most atrocious, the most shameless injustice, proverbially said to drive wise men mad, was displayed with an audacity that would hardly be becoming in those whose judgment was infallible and nature impeccable, and while the highest dignities, the most

exalted institutions were laid prostrate at the feet of the vulgar tyrants of a day, such deeds of blood were perpetrated as always take the strongest hold upon the feelings of the bulk of mankind ; and all this was not merely submitted to in patience ; a considerable portion of the people in many places were active approvers, and many were agents, and were stained with these dreadful crimes. If any one had, before 1789, aye, or even before 1792, foretold that the French people would submit to a law preventing men upon trial for their lives from being heard in their own defence, and commanding that the judges should condemn to death for political offences without evidence, he would have been laughed to scorn as a false prophet, and reprobated as a public slanderer. But if any one had pretended to foresee the time when the statue of a miscreant universally scorned and detested for daily recommending the wholesale murder of his fellow-creatures, without a vestige of those talents which too often conceal the nakedness of guilt, or those graces which lend a passing hue of fairness to the external surface of moral poison, would, with general applause, even of those who had loathed him living, be enshrined in the national temple of glory, among men whose genius and virtue had long been the pride of the French people—assuredly such a seer would have been deemed insane. Can anything more strikingly or

e frightfully impress upon the mind a sense of
 mischiefs which may spring from popular
 asiasm, when bad men obtain sway over a
 on little informed, and unable or unwilling to
 k and judge for itself; ready to believe what-
 it is told by interested informants, to follow
 ever is recommended by false advisers acting
 heir own selfish ends? That no such scenes
 d now be renewed in France we may very
 y venture to affirm, though much mischief
 it still be wrought by undue popular excite-
 t. That in this country such things are wholly
 ssible needs no proof; the very least of the
 ble departures from justice which marked the
 se of the French mob-tyranny, would at once
 throw whatever person might here attempt to
 a by such means, and would probably drive us
 some extremes diametrically opposite to those
 sh. had given birth to any outrage of the kind/
 this security arises wholly from the people's
 s. of thinking for themselves, and the impos-
 ity of any one making them act upon grounds
 sh. they do not comprehend, or for purposes
 hich they have no manifest interest, or to suit
 s carefully concealed from them, and only
 red over with vague phrases, which in this
 stry are always the source of incurable dis-
 t.
 is impossible to say the same thing of all

parts of our people; it would be most false to assert, for example, that the Irish are safe from such influence. On the contrary, they manifestly do not think and judge for themselves; certainly are in the hands of persons who do not take the trouble to give sound reasons, or reasons at all, for their advice. The Irish people are excited and moved to action in the most frivolous by appeals to matters of which they do not understand the pains to comprehend even the outline, and are less to reflect on the import and tendency. They are easily made, and easily made, to exert themselves in things of which they have formed no distinct idea, and in which they have no real interest whatever. They leave to others, their spiritual and their political guides, the task of forming their opinions for them, if mere cry and clamour, mere rumour about and shouting, can be called opinions. They never are suspicious of a person's motives, merely because they see he has an interest in deceiving them. They never weigh the probabilities of a tale, nor the credit of him that tells it. They will be deceived by the same person nine times in succession, and they will believe him just as implicitly the tenth; nay, were he to confess that he wilfully deceived them to suit a purpose of his own, they would only consider this a proof of his honesty, and lend an ear if possible more readily to his next imposture. A people thus uninstructed

thus excited, thus guided, are most deeply to be pitied; and the duty is most imperative of their rulers, by all means, and without delay, to rescue them from such ignorance, and save them from such guides by every kindly mode of treatment which a paternal Government can devise. But such a people, especially if the natural goodness of their dispositions were not outraged by scenes of a cruel kind, would easily be moved to witness and to suffer the grossest violations of justice, would let themselves be hallooed on to the attack of their best friends by any wily impostor that might have gained their confidence, and would suffer men as base and as execrable as Marat to usurp the honours of their Pantheon.

But it must be admitted that there existed two powerful causes of the success which attended the vile agitators of France,—causes sufficient to account for much of the impression which they were allowed to make, and of the impunity which they enjoyed after their worst misdeeds.

In the *first* place there was a very large portion of genuine and even virtuous patriotism among many of the men who bore a part in public affairs, who remained attached to their principles during the struggle of parties, and who were but little corrupted by the personal views which had early seduced so many of their chiefs. They had a strong feeling in favour of liberty, and of con-

sequent attachment to the Revolution in th
and guiltless stage of its existence ; they ha
an ardent love of their country, of her glory,
all, of her independence. The court-party
betrayed views, natural in their position, ho
the new order of things ; and as the revolut
measures more departed from moderation, a
existence of the monarchy became more e
to peril, that party cast their eyes unh
towards foreign assistance, the idea which a
aroused the feelings of Frenchmen, and mar
on the side of even an extreme policy, a
portion of the community not originally pr
to part with all the existing institutions o
ancient kingdom. Nothing but the invas
the allies in 1792 could have reconciled
men to the violence which was then don
only to the court and royal family, bu
to multitudes of harmless individuals in o
station. The brilliant progress of the war
the Reign of Terror blinded many persons
atrocities daily committed ; and their perpet
had the skill to make it supposed that a s
reverse of the singular fortune which att
their arms, if not an invasion of France |
allies, was the alternative to be expected fro
overthrow of their dominion and a restorat
moderate and regular government. In the
of all the factious conflicts which tore the

public, the general prevalence of purely patriotic
 feelings and of motives solely influenced by honest
 regard for the public good, how often soever mistaken,
 was quite unquestionable. The great bulk of
 the Convention, and many even of the leaders,
 were men devoted to their country, and bent only
 on the discharge of their public duty. "*La patrie*,"
 a magic word which never lost its influence, was
 in all men's mouths, but also in most men's hearts.
 Some chiefs who became corrupted by ambition
 in the course of their exertions for her interests,
 were converted by hostility towards each other in
 the progress of their mutual conflicts, began their
 career with as unfeigned a love of their country,
 as honest an attachment to revolutionary prin-
 ciples, and the cause of just reform, as ever filled

the hearts or guided the course of any statesmen
 of any age. Some of the great leaders, as Robert
 Lindet, Vergniaud, perhaps Danton and Camille,
 held the same principles throughout their
 long and stormy lives. Some, as Carnôt, Lakanal,
 Robespierre, probably Rœderer, after holding fast
 their integrity during the awful struggle that
 so fitted to try men's souls, survived the tem-
 pest and adorned by their talents and edified by their
 lives the more tranquil season that succeeded.

A criminal portion of the revolutionists were
 in number compared to those whom they
 deceived by their arts, or whom they succeeded in

overawing by the violence of the multitude.] it was not wholly against their will, or thro' the mere influence of terror, that the bulk of Convention and of the country submitted to outrages of the Decemvirs. An alarm of an opposite nature worked strongly on their minds ; dread of a Counter-revolution, and of the vengeance which its leaders, if successful, would surely exercise, had a very powerful operation in reconciling men's minds to the existing Government ; and it is certain that the execution of the King and other crimes early committed by some and connived at by all, had the greatest influence in causing a general fear of retribution and a proportional alarm of what must happen, should the old dynasty be restored.

These considerations must be taken into account in examining the conduct of the French and accounting for their submission to the tyrant's injustice, and cruelty of their revolutionary chiefs ; else we shall both mistake the state of the question and do injustice to that great people. It is due to the leading men of those times that we record how pure was the attachment of many of them to their country, and how little other motives operated on their minds. The course so frequent in such times, leading others from patriotism to faction, from zeal for a principle to impatience of opposition, and from desire of victory over an adversary to the lust of power for personal gratification,

ation, gave rise to most of the errors and many the crimes which we have been contemplating. melancholy consideration of these and their uses only serves to enhance the value of those men who yielded to no such seductions, and to increase our respect for their pure motives and virtuous lives. But the same contemplation suggests another reflection, teaches another lesson. It shows, with the force of demonstration, the fatal consequences to themselves and their own virtue, of men, however strong their principles and pure their enthusiasm, yielding to such a passion, and overleaping under its influence the plain line of duty which forbids the doing of evil that good may come. It shows the fatal consequences to the community of suffering parties and their chiefs

acquire the ascendant, when pretending, perhaps in the first really meaning, to rule the state for the furtherance of a wholesome, rational policy—it being hard to say whether more wickedness may be committed by public men under the influence of enthusiasm, or more detriment sustained by the country under the misguidance of faction.

In the *second* place it must be observed that in times of revolutionary violence there is an immunity secured to the worst characters by the spirit of the party, and especially by the slowness of party chiefs to sacrifice even their worst adherents, and to give them over to the merited indignation of the

world. See the universal horror and disgust Marat inspired in all men and of all parties. His odious violence, his virulence of temper morbid still, his savage ferocity of manner exacted by the fury of his sentiments, and the wildness of his propositions; his avowed authorship of a journal which openly preached the indiscriminate massacre of whole classes for their political principles; his constant efforts to excite the mob and lead them towards the most infernal excesses.

* In recommending the massacre of all aristocrats, Marat scrupled not to proclaim through his paper, the '*Peuple*,' that 270,000 heads must fall by the guillotine. He published lists of persons whom he consigned to vengeance and destruction by their names, descriptions, and places of residence. He was remarkable for the features of a countenance at once horrible and ridiculous, for the figure of a dwarf, not above five feet high. From his first appearance in the mob-meetings of his time, he was the constant butt of the company, and maltreated by the mob for his gross personal rudeness. The mob, however, always took his part, because of the violence of his horrid language. Thus, long before he preached wholesale massacre in his journal, he had denounced 800 deputies as fit for execution and demanded that they should be hanged on as malefactors. His constant topic was assassination, not only in his public addresses but in private society. Barbaroux describes him in his '*Mémoires*' (p. 59) as recommending that all aristocrats should be obliged to wear a badge, in order that they might be recognised and killed. "But," he used to add, "you must only wait at the playhouse door and mark those who go out, and to observe who have servants, carriages, and fine clothes; and if you kill them all, you are pretty sure

scorable and utterly abominable things had
ly obliterated the merits which his revolu-
violence and devotion to the extreme party
em to display, that no one would associate
or remain on the bench of the assembly
h he took his seat; and when he rose to
himself from the charges on which he
upon his trial, and began by saying that he
re he had many enemies in the Convention,
was drowned by cries from every quarter
! All!—Yet the Jacobin party allowed
ch to be elected one of the deputies from
al;* and neither Robespierre nor any of

many aristocrats. Or if ten in a hundred should be
don't signify—you have killed ninety aristocrats.”
bout fifty at the time of his death, being born in
consequently of an age prior to that of the other
cept Bailly, who was born in 1736. He is said to
ht French in Edinburgh about the year 1774; and
ublished a pamphlet in English under the title of
ins of Slavery. He was born at Neuchâtel, and
ecure medical practitioner in Paris. He published
ks of some learning and little other merit on sub-
ysical science.

e were among the twenty-four deputies of Paris in
ention ten of the greatest leaders, exclusive of
Robespierre and his brother, Danton, Collot d'Her-
nille Desmoulins, Legendre, Fabre d'Eglantine,
arennes, David, and Egalité (*ci-devant* Duc d'Or-
Robespierre's brother was a person of no weight,
known from his relationship. He was, however, a
publican, was employed with the army of Italy

his adherents, nor even Danton, ventured to denounce him, and to give their real and known sentiments respecting him—nay, when the accident of his assassination had freed the earth from so monstrous a pollution, and his bust was simply for that reason placed in the Pantheon, most of the great leaders paid tributes of respect from time to time to his memory, holding up his supposed services as objects of public gratitude, and his death as a martyrdom for revolutionary principles. Yet that death had not obliterated the recollection of any one of the enormities of his life, which had made him so justly the object of universal scorn. Robespierre pronounced his funeral oration; David boasted of preserving by his pencil “the cherished features of the virtuous friend of the people;” and Danton most unaccountably and preposterously called him the Divine Marat, boasting after his assassination of having long before given him that very absurd appellation.

Can any one doubt that such conduct in parties and their chiefs, such a pusillanimous truckling to the passions of the rabble, such a base pandering to their worst propensities as this silence respecting great criminals implies, must ever be as impolitic as it is profligate and unprincipled? We have

when it took Nice; and he sacrificed himself generously on the downfall of his brother, with whom he was arrested at his own desire, and executed with the *Triumvirate*.

its consequences in all ages, and it has
 injurious to many a great man's re-
 was probably only as a party leader that
 r, without partaking in Catiline's con-
 ke far too gently of it, and gave its
 his protection, if not his countenance,
 eding against them before the senate.
 ult of this party delicacy has been the
 which still rests on the memory of that
 and leads to a prevailing suspicion
 g secretly joined the most abandoned
 rs. So, in modern times, whoever is
 probating and attacking known guilt
 ear of losing the support of some par-
 ending some party, must make up his
 assing for the accomplice in crimes
 er from timidity or upon calculation,
 denounce. Against the loss of support
 uly set the loss of character, which
 rincipled course is sure to entail upon
 ursue it; and it is not doubtful on
 he balance of the account will be found

reflection of a practical nature is im-
 igh to be here added, as the natural
 survey which we have been taking of
 f Terror—I mean the extreme danger
 political bodies, under any pretext

whatever, to interfere with the administration of justice. The Convention's controversy with the Revolutionary Tribunal was in truth the cause of all the horrors which we have been contemplating. The thin disguise under which this interference was veiled could deceive no one, least of all those who made use of it to hide their tyranny. "The public good"—"the danger of the country"—"the safety of the people"—above all, "the privilege of the Legislative Body" and "the sacred rights of the people's representatives"—were constantly in men's mouths as a justification for the Convention assuming the judicial power, and subjugating the courts of justice. When we see our own House of Parliament setting up their claim to punish summarily all who dispute, even in courts of law and according to the course which the law prescribes, those powers declared in no written statute and only asserted or defined from time to time as their exercise is found convenient, and always after the act is done which they are put forth to condemn and to visit—surely we may well feel some alarm at such a stride towards the very worst of the outrages on all justice and all humanity that form the chief disgrace of the French Revolution. Take an example:—The House of Commons prints and sells libels upon individuals; and if the injured party dare, without leave, to sue the printers or the authors whose slanders the Commons have thought

blish, he is sent to prison for breach of pri-

But if the injured party petitions humbly
e to proceed in vindicating his wounded
he meets with a flat refusal. It is the
of the Commons to deal in slander, and to
must submit. Nay, it was quite clear that
overnment, being unable to give their mob
ers strong measures of innovation, attacked
ges instead—knowing this to be, in the
res, an acceptable equivalent.

SIEYES.

TH**ERE** are few names in the French Revolution which have figured so much as that of Sieyès; and hardly any which is better connexion with this great chapter of modern history. Those who have only marked the space filled in debate, or the merits of his tracts at the convocation of the States General, will find the failure of all his plans of constitution to underrate the importance of his labours, and to suppose that his high place in the revolution and in the Pantheon had been inconsiderately awarded to him by the public voice. A personal acquaintance would certainly have led to the same conclusion. But near observers, belonging to the times in which he figured, entirely dissent from this opinion, and give reasons, apparently satisfactory, for a more ordinary view of his services and importance. I have frequently discussed this subject both with General Carnôt and Prince Talleyrand; neither of them at all likely to be deceived by a mere theorist, both of them entertaining little respect for a metaphysical political

ll their own tastes and habits sure to regard
omewhat of disdain a purely speculative
an. Yet both agreed in affirming the great
f the Abbé, and they appealed to the extreme
ance of the measures which proceeded from
nd for the suggestion of which they both
im the exclusive credit.

se great measures were three in number, of
certainly it would not be easy to overrate
ortance,—namely, the joint verification of
wers at the meeting of the States General,
nation of the National Guards, the establish-
f the new system of provincial division and
stration. The first of these measures led

r to the important step of the three orders,
s, Peers, and Commons, sitting in one cham-
d the consequent absorption of the whole in
ter body. The value of the second needs
dwelt upon. But the third was by far the
aterial of the whole, because it not only
the Revolution upon an immoveable foun-
—the admission of the people everywhere
are in the local administration of their con-
-but destroyed the remains of the monarchical
as of the territory, and rendered inevitable
and step, the most precious of all the fruits

Revolution, the abolition of the various
nd customary codes, and the extension over
ole country of one universal system of juris-

prudence; in the stead of a state of things so intolerable, and so absurd, as the existence of totally different laws in different streets of the same town or hamlet.

If it is granted that the whole praise of these reforms belongs undivided to Siéyes, it is proved that his was a mind most fertile of resources, and that its conceptions were not more vast than they were practical. M. Thiers describes his genius as characterised by this peculiarity—"a systematic concatenation of his own ideas"—a peculiarity which he shared with our Bentham; and the likeness is only made the more striking when the author adds, that "to this was united an inflexible obstinacy of disposition, which made him as tenacious of his own opinions as he was intolerant of all others." (*Hist. de la Révol. Française*, tom. i.) M. Mignet describes him as still more of a speculatist; but his sketch loses not at all the resemblance to what we have seen of Bentham. "Siéyes," says he, "would have founded a sect in the days of monkish solitude; and study had early ripened his faculties, and filled his mind with new, strong, and extensive ideas, but somewhat systematic. Society had been the main subject of his investigations. He had followed its progress, and decomposed its springs, and he conceived the nature of government to be rather a question of age and period than of rights; he disclaimed the ideas of others, because

found them incomplete : and, in his eyes, half truth was equivalent to error. Opposition irritated him ; he was not communicative ; he desired to be understood entirely, and this he found impossible with half the world. His disciples transmitted his sentiments to others, and this gave them a mysterious power, and made him the object of a kind of worship. He possessed the authority which attends a perfect political science, and the constitution might have hung from his head, like Minerva from Jupiter's, the codes of ancient lawgivers, if it had not been that in our days every one claimed a right of aiding him, or of modifying his work. Nevertheless, his plans were, with some modifications, for the most part adopted ; and in the Committees, where his labours lay, he had more disciples than fellow-workmen." (*Hist. de la Révol. Française*, tom. i. 113.)

As of other remarkable persons, so of Siéyes are there many things recounted which appear to rest on no foundation. Of this description is the story often told, that on the question coming to him on the punishment which should be inflicted on the unfortunate Louis XVI., he, impatient of the speeches which had preceded him, pronounced these words, "*La mort, sans phrase.*" No such thing is recorded in the account published by authority of the 'Moniteur.' Under the head of Deputies in the Department of La Sarthe, we have this story :—

“Froyer—La Mort.

“Siéyes—La Mort.

“Le Tourneur*—La Mort”

It is a form of voting adopted by many of members, and nothing whatever distinguishes it from the other votes.

To the earlier period of the Revolution, the portance and the fame of Siéyes must be confir Nothing can well exceed the absurdity of a plans which he, at a later stage, propounded. had a great share in the proceedings of Bruma which overthrew the Directory and founded Consulship under Napoleon. But he desired to establish a Consulate, of which he should himself hold his share, a divided and nominal third the supreme power, while in reality all author was to be vested in one of his colleagues. I proposed a form of government, which, for absurdity, may fairly challenge the pre-eminence with any not the produce of Dean Swift's satirical humour. Napoleon should, according to this strange scheme, have been invested with the supreme magistracy, but without any power, executive or legislative; enriched with an enormous salary, and suffered to exercise the whole patronage civil and military, of the State, while others were named by the people to make the laws, and conduct, in union with his executive nominees, the

* Le Tourneur de la Manche; afterwards one of the Executive Directory.

ment of the country. Napoleon's remark he had no wish to "be a fattened hog, of some millions (*cochon à l'engrais à lire de quelques millions*), after the life had led and in the position to which it had led him." I must add that I have met with French politicians, neither ignorant nor false, who had, much to my surprise, formed a favorable opinion of this plan.*

At the beginning of the year 1817, I made acquaintance with the Abbé, at that time, with Camille and other regicides, residing at Brussels. When on my way to attend my parliamentary duties at the opening of the Session; and finding a company with a party leader, he was—entirely for me, who desired to hear him on matters which he understood—led to a discussion at great length and with little fruit, his opinion on a point the most incomprehensible to a Frenchman, and indeed the most difficult for any Englishman, any Englishman out of the sphere of practical politics, to understand,—the course most fitting, in the circumstances of the moment, for the English Party opposition to take. I admired the confidence with which he delivered his opinions, oracularly dictating his crude, absurd, most ignorant notions.

Thiers in his "*Consulat*" takes this view.

I marvelled at the boldness of the man who thus lecture one necessarily well acquainted the subject, of which the lecturer could not possibly understand the A, B, C. I exceedingly lamented the loss of what might have been views productive of curious information. I returned to England without the least disposition to put a single one of his absurdities to the test of experience; for indeed to have mentioned even the most tolerable of them to the least experienced of my party would have been to raise a doubt of their seriousness, if not of my sanity. Both my friend the late Lord Kinnaird and myself mightily struck with the contrast which Cambresis presented to the Abbé in these interviews.

After the Revolution of 1830 Siéyès returned to Paris, where he lived to an extreme old age and for several years before his death paid no attention to anything except the care of his health, seldom seeing his friends, and only quitting his house to take an airing in a carriage. A great desire was expressed by his colleagues of the Convention, that he should return to his place in the illustrious body. Count Roderer was one of the deputies which sought an interview with him, in the hopes of prevailing upon him to change his resolution and yield to the general wish. The attempt was vain: and a touching scene was described to me by the Count. After saying

member he should now be of any association, conversing, but in a strain that bore the hand of age being upon him, he said, *je ne sais plus parler, ni*—and after a moment added, *“ni—me taire.”*

, (AFTERWARDS) DUKE OF OTRANTO.

THE I AM INDEBTED TO MY NOBLE AND LEARNED FRIEND
THE EARL STANHOPE.]

his acquaintance at Dresden, where he arrived in November, 1815, as French Minister, but in a sort of exile; and he told me that the Duke of Wellington had urged him not to accept that mission, saying, “You are in a hole which you will never be able to leave.” The Duke expressed to me his regret at not having followed his advice, and his opinion that the anticipation of the event.

exaggerated opinion, both of his own importance and the malice of his enemies, he had left Paris in disguise, was so apprehensive of being recognized, that at the moment his wife on the road he would not acknowledge her, and remained some weeks at Brussels, and carried on a correspondence with the Duke of Wellington and others, receiving from the French Government a peremptory order to repair to his post, he continued his journey under the name of M. Durand, marchand de vin, till he reached Paris, where he resumed his own name. He was aided by his wife, who was of the family of Castiglione, related, as he said, to the Bourbons, with four children from his former marriage, by an eldest son who was of weak intellect, and who became remarkable for avarice, by two other sons who, even in their

childhood, exhibited a strong disposition to cruel a daughter, and by a very intriguing governess, Ribaud.

He had been early in life a professor in the Oratoire. It was said very truly at Dresden that he had "*le d'un moine, et la voix d'un mort,*" and, as he was for time the only foreign minister at that court, that he appeared like the ghost of the departed corps diplomatique. His countenance showed great intelligence, and did not betray the cunning by which he was eminently distinguished. His manner was calm and dignified, and he had, either by nature or from long habit, much power of self-possession. When I announced to him the execution of Marshal Dronow, of which by some accident I had received the early information, his countenance never changed. He appeared to be nearly sixty years of age, and his hair had become white as snow, in consequence of his having, according to his own expression, "slept upon the guillotine for five years." His conversation was very animated and interesting, but it related chiefly to events in which he had been an actor, and his inordinate vanity induced him to say: "I am not a king, but I am more illustrious than they of them." His statements did not deserve implicit credit, and I may mention as an instance his bold denial of the execution of the Duke of Brunswick, which he denied during the whole course of his long administration. As Minister of Police, any letter had ever been opened without his post-office.

Amongst a great number of anecdotes which he related to me, there were two that exhibited in a very striking manner the fertility of his resources when he acted on the theatre, though, as I shall afterwards show, he appeared utterly helpless amidst the difficulties which he encountered at Dresden.

While he was on a mission to the newly-constituted Cisalpine Republic, he received orders from the

y to require the removal of some functionaries who
 noxious to the Austrian Government. He refused
 y, and stated in his answer that those functionaries
 ached to France; that the ill-will with which
 re viewed by the Austrian Government was
 ason for the French Government to demand their
 ; that, according to intelligence which had reached
 istrian troops were advancing, and that the war
 e renewed. The orders were reiterated without
 d one morning he was informed that an agent of
 story was arrived at his house, and was accompanied
 gens d'armes. Fouché desired that the agent
 e admitted, and that a message might be sent to
 d General Joubert, who commanded some French
 en stationed in the same town, requesting him to
 mediately, and to bring with him a troop of cavalry.
 It delivered to Fouché letters of recall, and showed
 afterwards an order to arrest him and to conduct
 Paris. Fouché made some observations to justify
 till the arrival of Joubert with the cavalry was
 ed, when he altered his tone, and told the agent:
 lk of arresting me, and it is in my power to arrest
 oublet said, on entering the room, "Me voilà avec
 gons, mon cher ami; que puis-je faire à votre
 " and Fouché replied: "Ce drôle-là veut m'arrêter."
 ent!" exclaimed Joubert, "dans ce cas-là je le
 en mille pièces." The agent excused himself as
 liged to execute the orders which he had received,
 dismissed by Fouché with the remark, "Vous êtes
 allez tranquillement à votre hôtel." When he had
 ouché observed that the Directory was not respected
 home or abroad, that it would therefore be easy to
 w the government, and that Joubert might obtain
 ce if he would assist in the undertaking. Joubert
 d that he was merely a soldier, and that he did not

wish to meddle in politics ; but he granted Fouché's request of furnishing him with a military escort to provide for safety till he reached Paris. On the road he prepared an address to the Council of Five Hundred, which was calculated to be very injurious, and perhaps fatal, to the government. When he arrived at Paris he called on one of the Directors, but was not admitted, and he expressed to him his conviction that he should have been arrested next morning if he had not immediately insisted on having an audience with Talleyrand, then Minister of Foreign Affairs. Fouché, after defending his conduct, said that he considered it his duty, before he presented his address, to show it to Talleyrand, who no sooner read it than he perceived its dangerous tendency, and the whole extent of the mischief to which it might lead. He told Fouché: "I perceive there has been a misunderstanding, but everything is now arranged;" and added, "the post of Minister to the Cisalpine Republic is now vacant, and perhaps you would be willing to accept it." Fouché, who perceived that the other Directors were intimidated, determined to avail himself of the advantage which he had acquired, and replied that his honour and character had been attacked, that immediate reparation was necessary, and that his credentials must be prepared before the close of the night, in order that he might the next day depart on his mission. This request having been granted, Fouché proceeded to state that his journey to Paris had been very expensive; that he had, through his abrupt departure from the Cisalpine Republic, lost several valuable presents which he would have received; and that his new mission required another outlay, for all of which he demanded an order for the immediate payment of two hundred thousand francs by the national treasury. Talleyrand gave the order without hesitation; and Fouché, who had arrived in Paris in disgrace, if not in great danger, departed the next morning as a minister plenipotentiary with a considerable sum of money.

After Napoleon, on his return from Elba, had made such progress as alarmed the French Government, Monsieur, afterwards Charles X., sent a message to Fouché requesting a meeting with him in the Tuileries. Fouché declined it, saying that as the circumstance would be known, it would place his conduct in a very ambiguous light, and he then received another message proposing to meet him at the instance of a third party. To this proposal Fouché assented, on the condition that the interview should take place in the presence of witnesses, two of whom should attend on each party. On such an occasion any questions of etiquette must not have appeared of very subordinate importance; the condition was accepted, and in the interview, which lasted several hours, and till long after midnight, Fouché was offered the appointment of Police, the title of Prince, and the decoration of the St. Esprit. Fouché replied that the advance of Napoleon was the natural and necessary consequence of the general discontent which prevailed; that no human power could prevent his arrival at Paris; that Fouché's acceptance of office under such circumstances might create an impression of his having betrayed a sovereign whom he had faithfully to serve; and that he was therefore obliged to reject the offers which in the course of the conversation were repeatedly pressed on his acceptance. It seemed to be proposed by the French Government that the refusal of these offers was an indication of attachment to Napoleon, and the next morning, when Fouché was in his carriage, at a short distance from his own house, he was stopped "in the name of the King," by an officer of police, attended by gentlemen. Fouché desired them to accompany him to his residence, when, on getting out of the carriage, he demanded the production of the warrant by which he was arrested; on its being shown to him, he threw it on the ground, claiming, "It is a forgery; that is not the King's signature." The officer of police, astounded by the effrontery

with which Fouché spoke, allowed him to enter the when he made his escape through the garden, as to the Princesse de Vaudremont, who concealed him return of Napoleon. Mdle. Ribaud, the governess a message to the National Guards requesting their attendance, and conducted through the house the police, as he told her that he had orders to take possession of Fouché's papers. His bureaux, &c. were searched nothing of any importance was found in them, and Ribaud when passing through her own room drew from beneath her bed, and, taking a key out of her offered to show her clothes to the officer of police, that he had no wish to give her that trouble. however, in that trunk that Fouché's important were deposited. In the mean time the National had arrived, and after they were harangued by Ribaud on the merits and services of Fouché, and insult and injustice with which he had been treated drove away the gens d'armes who attended the police.

Fouché, who after the return of Napoleon was re-appointed Minister of Police, was asked by him whether it was very desirable to obtain the services of Talleyrand was then one of the French ambassadors at Vienna tainly," replied Fouché; and Napoleon then said, "you think of sending to him a handsome sum Fouché, aware of the extreme absurdity of endeavoured to bribe a minister, who was supposed to be rapacious a present which, as a matter of course, he had refused the conclusion of every treaty, observed, if a snuffbox sent to Talleyrand, he should open it to see what contained. "What do you mean?" inquired Napoleon is idle," replied Fouché, "to talk of sending to him a box. Let an order for two millions of francs be sent and let one half of the sum be payable on his

France." "No," said Napoleon, "that is too expensive, and I shall not think of it."

When Napoleon determined to hold the Assembly of the *Champ de Mai*, he convened his Council of State, and read to them the speech which he intended to deliver on that occasion. Some of the members expressed their entire and unqualified approbation, and others suggested a few verbal alterations: but Fouché, when it came to his turn, said that he disapproved of it both in its form and in its substance, and he then strung together some of the commonplace phrases with which his ordinary conversation so much abounded, that "truth must be heard," that "illusions could no longer prevail," &c. One of the Councillors having remarked that a written document would be very desirable for the discussion, Fouché produced the speech which he had prepared. It stated that the Allied Powers had declared war not against France, but against Napoleon; that if they were sincere in their professions, they would guarantee to France her independence, and the free choice of her own government, and that he would in that case abdicate the throne; but that if such a guarantee were refused, it would be a proof that they were insincere, and that he would then ask permission to place himself at the head of the French armies in order to defend the honour of the country. Napoleon made no observation; but, calling the Councillors to him in succession, and whispering a few words to each of them, they rejected the proposal. He must have perceived that the Allies, who viewed with anxiety and mistrust the mighty conflict in which they were about to engage, would have granted the guarantee which was required; that he should have been obliged to abdicate; and that a Republic would have been established in which Fouché hoped and expected to acquire more power than he had yet possessed. Napoleon had on a former occasion removed Fouché from office, and reproached him with his insatiable

ambition, saying, "You might always have been minister but you aspired to be more, and I will not suffer you become a Cardinal Richelieu."

The Memoirs which after Fouché's death were published under his name do not appear to be authentic, and the statements contained in them differ in many respects from the which I received from him, but neither the one nor the other may have been founded in truth. He read to me occasionally some detached passages, which he composed without any reference to chronological order, but as the circumstances occurred to his mind, and according to the original plan, which he communicated to me in a letter. I intended to divide his narrative into the following parts:—

"La 1^e explique la révolution qui a fait passer la France de l'antique monarchie à la république; la 2^e celle qui a fait passer la France de la république à l'Empire de Bonaparte; la 3^e celle qui a fait passer la France de cet Empire à la Royauté des Bourbons; la 4^e partie dira la situation de la France et de l'Europe."

In another letter he states:—

"Je travaille huit heures par jour à mon mémoire. Ceux qui croient que ce sont les hommes qui font les révolutions seront étonnés de voir leur origine. J'ai déjà peint le premier tableau des événemens d'où sont sorties nos tempêtes passées. Le pendant de ce tableau sera un assez gros image d'où partira la foudre qui menace notre avenir."

His participation in the atrocities of the Revolution inspired horror at Dresden, where he formed very few acquaintances and received hardly any visits except from Count Salmas, Piedmontois, who had known him at Paris, and from General Gaudi, who had been sent by the Prussian Government to negotiate with respect to the line of demarcation of the Saxon provinces which were ceded, and who had received instructions from Prince Hardenberg to see Fouché frequently, and to watch his proceedings. Fouché said to me

a, "J'ai une folle envie d'écrire, et il faut que
campagne;" and I knew that he was not disturbed
visitors, but I observed to him that he might give
not to admit them. He replied, "Ne voyez-vous
si une jeune femme, et quand je me pousse en force,
d'une autre manière?" I told him that he might
ly hire one of the country-houses which at that
ear were unoccupied; but he said that he should
owner to remain there during his residence, and
m with the respect and attention which were due
He seemed to think that even a stranger would be
to accept the proposal, and to have an oppor-
associating with a person who, according to his
on, was "more illustrious" than any king.

Confidential communications which he received from
re addressed to him under another name, and
to the care of a pastrycook in that part of the town
s on the other bank of the Elbe. He preserved
r habits of "espionnage," and remarked to me that
who lived on the opposite side of the street sat close
ndow, was much occupied in writing, was very
n his habits, &c. He seemed to be amused in
this unknown individual, who was afterwards
d to be a spy sent by the French Government to
ouché.

Ignorance of geography, &c., was really ludicrous.
heard that Napoleon was sent to St. Helena, he in-
which side of the Cape it lay; and when he was
an Englishman that he was going to Hamburgh to
or England, he asked, "Are you not afraid at this
year of making a voyage in the Baltic?" The
lied that he did not embark on the Baltic. "No,"
hé, after some consideration, "you will go by the
mark."

extremely delighted when he was informed that
v.

Lavalette had effected his escape by the good office of Robert Wilson and two other Englishmen, and after a pompous eulogium on them, he said that although he had been punished by the French Government, that he must everywhere be respected and honoured; that they must excite general admiration, &c.; and after a long list of high-flown compliments, he concluded by an assurance "if they should come here, I will even invite them to dinner."

According to a homely expression, "there was lost" between Fouché and Talleyrand. The former said "Talleyrand est nul" till after he has drunk a glass of Madeira: and the latter asked, "Do you not think Fouché has very much the air of a country coquette?" Fouché spoke very contemptuously of the late Emperor of Austria, whom he called "un crétin."

I thought it indiscreet to ask any questions on the cruelties of which he was represented to be guilty at Lyons and at Nantes; but I took an opportunity of mentioning to him that a biographical memoir of him had appeared in the German language. It excited, as might be expected, his curiosity, and he requested me to read it *à voix*, which I accordingly did; and when the scenes of Lyons were noticed he exclaimed, "I wish to save the inhabitants, all of whom would otherwise have been murdered by Collot d'Herbois. As for Nantes, he was there." I remarked to him that the Memoirs of the Committee of Public Safety, which were signed both by him and by Robespierre, and which had been published in the 'Moniteur,' he replied that it would at that time have been difficult to disavow them.

He had received from the Prince of the Asturias Ferdinand VII., during his residence at Bayona, the most servile letters, earnestly entreating that he would confer upon him the high honour of allowi

allied with some relation, however distant, of the Imperial family. Fouché said that his hand was kissed by the prince whenever he had occasion to see him; and added, "I shed it afterwards, for he was very dirty."

The intelligence which he received from Paris, through private as well as through public channels, and the hostility which was shown towards the regicides, of whom he was, rendered him very apprehensive that his property would be confiscated, and he spoke to me frequently upon the subject. He observed that the Charter did not allow confiscation, but added, "*ils ne se gênent pas*;" and he proposed to make a nominal sale of his property to me, in order to place it beyond the grasp of the French Government. I objected to it on the ground that it would not be a *bonâ fide* transaction; but a day or two afterwards I received from him a note, expressing a wish to see me immediately. On going to him, he read to me some papers prepared in technical and legal phraseology, which stated that I had purchased

estates, the annual value of which was, I think, 7000*l.*, also his house at Paris, with the furniture that it contained. I told him that I had already expressed my disapprobation of the principle on which the transaction would proceed; and I observed to him that the fraud would be discovered, for the French Government would upon inquiry learn from the English ambassador at Paris that I was only the eldest son with a very limited income, and that it was wholly impossible for me to make such purchases. He replied that I might be supposed to have given bonds, or other securities, which were satisfactory to him. I represented to him that the French ambassador in London might by a Bill in Chancery compel me to declare upon oath whether I had or had not purchased his property; and, with what funds? And he answered, "*Ces parjures-là blessent point la conscience.*" I then said, "You have already informed me that one-half of your property is

settled on your children, and the easiest way of placing whole of it in safety would be to settle the remainder *Madame la Duchesse*." He exclaimed, "*Parbleu, vous a plus d'esprit que moi, et je ferai venir mon secrétaire sur champ.*" An act in due form was instantly prepared, and being registered in Dresden, became the subject of general conversation; but I considered his communications as confidential, and I said nothing as to the suggestion which had offered, or as to my knowledge of the transaction.

He was also very apprehensive as to his personal safety and said, "I fear that I may be carried off by some *gens d'armes*, and that no person will ever hear of me again." He then asked whether, in the event of his being arrested he should not request General Gaudi to intercede for him with the prime minister, Count Einsiedel? I answered that they had no doubt much personal regard for each other, but that in their respective positions it could not be supposed that the former could have any influence with the latter. "Then," replied Fouché, "I will write to the King of Saxony, inquiring what course he will pursue if an order should arrive here for my arrest." He did so, though he was at that time French plenipotentiary: and he received from Count Einsiedel an answer, informing him that the King would under any circumstances act as became a monarch of honour.

On one occasion, when he was more than usually agitated by the information which he had that morning received from Paris, he called on me, and after mentioning that he was in great danger, and that he wished to go to the Prussian dominions, he inquired if I would accompany him thither? I assented; and we went together to General Gaudi, who was not acquainted with the objects and motives of the intended journey, but seemed much astonished when Fouché abruptly said to him, "You once told me that you have an aunt who is settled in Silesia; and I should like

and live with her." General Gaudi replied that his aunt was old and infirm, and not accustomed to company, and that she would not like to see a stranger. Fouché then conversed with General Gaudi on the choice of a residence, and was with great difficulty dissuaded from going to one of the ceded provinces, the governor of which entertained for him the strongest aversion. After we had left General Gaudi, I asked Fouché when he intended to depart? and he answered, "At twelve o'clock to-night." I told him that he would have a better appearance if he went by daylight; and I added, "You should prepare a passport for yourself." "No," replied Fouché; "I intend to travel under your passport." "How so?" I inquired. "As your valet-de-chambre," answered Fouché. I then said that I was willing to accompany him in his quality of French minister, but that I would not convey him under a false character, or juggle him through the country as if he were contraband goods. He was much displeased, and employed by turns flattery and abuse; but I remained inflexible; and, as I would not accompany him in the manner which he proposed, determined to remain at Dresden.

At length there appeared in France a law, or edict, which allowed the regicides to reside, at their own choice, either in Austria, in Prussia, or in Russia; and the Austrian minister desired Fouché to determine which of them he would prefer. He wished to settle at Berlin, where, as he said, his advice would be very useful; but he found upon inquiry that this would not be permitted, and Breslau was proposed to him for a residence, which he did not approve, and he went into the Austrian dominions—first to Prague, where he lived very obscurely and with great economy—afterwards, and for a short time, to Linz on the Danube—and then to Trieste, where he died. His widow, who had a life-interest in half his property, re-married. His house at Paris was

sold to Baron Rothschild ; and it was said, but I know with what truth, that he bequeathed his manuscript Louis XVIII.

It is impossible to close the book that rec the rapid, even sudden, rise to power of the whose course we have been contemplating, wit reflecting upon the vanity and emptiness of gratification held out to ambition, or vanity love of glory, by revolutionary times. That g fication is generally much vaunted as the r precious fruit of civil disorder, and no featu revolution offers more attractions to the young, ardent, the daring, than its tendency to exalt m and its opening a short path to distinction an power, which a spirit that spurns the long laborious ascent under regular governments fo takes, untired by the slipperiness of the road, unscared by the precipices yawning on either All such spirits are impatient of the slow ascei fame and influence to which all systems of p confine the ambitious in ordinary times ; and h the delight with which they hail the subversio ancient institutions, and the approach of w spreading change.

But to these men the portion of history w we have been examining reads an impressive l No one endowed with even an ordinary shai prudence can be extravagant enough to prefer

elve months' possession of power which the De-
avirs obtained as the price of all their struggles,
ir perils, and their crimes, to the fortune
ich, slowly gained, would have been long and
arely possessed under a regular government.

one setting before his eyes the chances of
ure and of destruction which he must have to
ounter, and the small probability of being
nbered with the successful few, would even
m the prize of some months' dominion, fol-
ed by an ignominious death, worth contending
at those hazards, to say nothing of the certain
t of being charged with the heaviest load under
ich the conscience can labour. The life, cer-
ly the reign, of a demagogue is of necessity a
rt one: even where religious bigotry and im-
ture combine with popular ignorance to give it
unnatural extension, it cannot in any civilized
e last long. In France, where its despotism
s the most uncontrolled, its duration was the
rtest, its sufferings and its ignominy the most
alling.

It is thus that the fate of the revolutionary
ders, when duly weighed, is well fitted to teach
n the wisdom for their own interest, even if
tue and duty were wholly disregarded, of pre-
ring the sure though slow, the lasting though
derate, rewards which a settled order of things
lds out to virtuous ambition or honest love of
ne. Such a study may reconcile them, even the

most impatient of them, to the duty of bridle their passions, and submitting to the conditions which alone power and glory may be innocently enjoyed.

*"Certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,
Noctis atque dies niti præstante labore
Ad summas emergere opes, rerumque potiri."**

But these are not the only reflections which arise naturally in the mind upon a near contemplation of the scenes of the Revolution. We learn when candidly examining the merits and the history of its great leaders, to distrust the general opinion of them which has prevailed, formed under the influence of the feelings naturally excited by the dreadful events of their day—events the horror of which almost inevitably tended to involve all who had any share of their guilt in an indiscriminate charge of sanguinary and profligate ambition. The public voice might be excused for thus pronouncing one undistinguishing sentence of condemnation upon them at the time, and while the sentiments of the people had been raised by so bloody a tragedy to their force. But subsequent authors and readers have too frequently fallen into the same error; they have treated the subject as superficially as the ephemeral writers and the speakers of the day. The common almost the invariable course has been to make

* *"Striving in genius, scaling still the heights
Of glory; toiling days and sleepless nights,
Among the wealthy the first place to gain,
And o'er a subjugated empire reign."*

distinction whatever between the different actors in the drama. Danton has been treated with the same severity as Robespierre; Camille and St. Just have received one award of condemnation. Nay, the wretched Marat, whom it would be a profanation of the name to call a statesman, has not been held up to greater execration and scorn than those who really, more or less, were entitled to be so called. A more calm examination of their history, or which survey the time may be admitted now to have arrived, begets far more than doubts upon the soundness of the commonly received opinion, and teaches us to distribute in very different and very unequal shares our praise and our censure. Even respecting Robespierre himself, it is probable that the pitch of the public voice has been somewhat too high, and that his bad and despicable character, dark as undeniably it was, had still some few redeeming traits to distinguish it from the Collots and the Billauds, by far the worst of the whole.

Allowance, too, must be made for the exaggerated, the exalted state of political feeling that prevailed among party leaders, and even among their followers, very generally in those dismal times. There can be no more certain proof of this than the fact that even at the present day, when time might be supposed to have calmed all the fervour of the revolutionary crisis, and reflection to have opened men's eyes to the degree in

which they had been formerly misled, we find sons in France of unquestionably virtuous parents unable to bestow the just portion of censure upon companions of their earlier years, and most reluctant to look back upon those scenes with a regret. I have been astonished to hear such sons characterise Collot d'Herbois as a well-meaning though misguided man (*bon homme, mal tête*); and somewhat less struck, indeed, still surprised, to find them hankering after a belief that whatever was done had been the fault of the Royalists and the Allies, while the all-embracing name of "patriot" covered the multitude of Decemviral sins, and the sole regard of even those who acted in those days was deemed to have been "*La Patrie*."

It would be extremely wrong to suffer ourselves to be warped in our opinions by such prejudice, or to let them arrest the judgment required in the interests of truth and justice. Yet it would be equally contrary to both were we to exclude from our consideration the extenuating tendency of an undeniable fact, that all men in those times were more or less under the influence of the temporary delirium which the great change had produced. They were delirious, they were in delirium which rendered them alike insensible to their own sufferings, blind to their own faults, neglectful of their duties, and regardless of the rights of men's rights.

But having discussed the moral, it remains to find the great political lesson which this important branch of history is so well fitted to teach—the calculable value of firmness on the part of those trusted with the powers of government, whether executive, legislative, or judicial. The whole of the French Revolution is one continued example of the powers of intimidation and the dangers of war. All the successive passages, even the darkest, are cleared up and satisfactorily explained by this consideration. At first apprehension, contagiously spreading into alarm, next rising to terror—that is the pivot on which all turned—that the governing rule of all conduct—that the common principle to reconcile all contradictions, to satisfy all conditions, to reduce all anomalies within rule. A moderate portion of courage in the rulers would have sufficed, if early displayed, to make what soon proved the scourge of the tempest fill the vessel's sails like a favouring breeze—to restrain within the bounds the force which might have been used as an ally, but soon grew to a remorseless and a merciless tyrant :—

“ *Parva metû primo, mox sese attollit in auras,
Ingredituque solo et caput inter nubila condit.*”*

- The puny creature that can hardly scare
Our steps, swift rises hideous through the air,
Stalks o'er the earth resistlessly, and shrouds
Its horrid crest among the rolling clouds.

JOHN, FOURTH DUKE OF BEDFORD. .

THE purpose of the following observations is to rescue the memory of an able, an amiable, and an honourable man, long engaged in the public service, both as a minister, a negotiator, and a viceroy,* long filling, like all his illustrious house, in every age of our history, an exalted place among the champions of our free constitution,—from the obloquy with which a licentious press loaded him when living; and it is in every way discreditable

* He was in 1744, when thirty-four years of age, First Lord of the Admiralty, in which capacity he brought forward Keppel, Howe, and Rodney. In 1748 he became Secretary of State, and continued in that office till 1751. In 1756 he went to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, and remained there with extraordinary popularity till 1761, when he was made Lord Privy Seal. Next year he went as Ambassador to Paris, and after his return was made President of the Council. He retained this office till 1766. He was in 1768 chosen Chancellor of the University of Dublin; and died in 1771. All who have ever spoken of this excellent person, with the exception of Junius, have praised his frank and honest nature, wholly void of all dissimulation and all guile; and have borne a willing testimony to the soundness of his judgment, as well as his unshaken firmness of purpose.

with justice that few if any attempts have, to death, been made to counteract the work of calumny, audaciously invented, and till its work of defamation was done, and the hood of the hour became confounded with the fact.

For the satisfaction of contributing to frustrate justice, and deprive malice of its prey, there is no benefit to be derived from the inquiry upon which I am about to enter. We shall be enabled to see the claims of a noted slanderer to public condemnation, and to ascertain how little he is worthy of his assaults upon other reputations. But we shall also be enabled to estimate the value of the body of unknown

to whom, lurking in concealment, bound by no honour, influenced by no regard for public feeling, no sense of shame, their motives inscrutable, gratifying, it may be, some personal spite, or actuated by some motive which would be avowed by the most callous of beings, vent their calumnies against men whose whole lives are before the world, who in vain grapple with the nameless mob of their assailants, but who, did they only know the hand whence the blows are levelled, would very soon require no other defence than at once to confront their accuser. That the efforts of this noble race have sometimes prevailed against

truth and justice; that the public, in order to indulge their appetite for abuse of eminent men, have suffered the oft-repeated lie to pass current without sifting its value, and have believed what was boldly asserted, with the hardly credible folly of mistaking for the courage of truth the cheap daring of concealed calumniators, cannot be doubted. The effects produced by the vituperation of Junius upon the reputation of the Duke of Bedford would at once refute any one who should assert the contrary. It becomes of importance then to prove how entirely groundless all his charges were; to show how discreditable it was to the people of this country that they should be led astray by such a guide; and to draw from this instance of delusion a lesson and a warning against lending an ear to plausible, and active, and unscrupulous slanderers.

Before proceeding with our subject, however, we may stop to consider an example of the effect produced upon public opinion, even permanently, by the invention of some phrase easily remembered, and tending to preserve the malignity of the fiction by the epigram that seems in some sort to embalm an otherwise perishable slander. At a moment of great popular excitement (July, 1769), the Livery of the city of London presented an address to the Sovereign, in which they closed a long list of grievances with the statement that "instead of

hment, honours had been bestowed upon a master, the public defaulter of unaccounted moneys." The recent elevation to the peerage of Fox, the first Lord Holland, lately Paymaster of the Forces, was plainly here signified; it is a humiliating reflection to those who prize public opinion, that it should be the dupe and the dupe of such audacious impostures. It is vain to deny that the epithet here bestowed on that statesman has, in a certain degree, clung to his memory, and given an impression injurious to the purity of his character. The calumny being propagated by an irresponsible body, and in an access to the throne, no proceedings at law were made, at least none that would not have been attended with extreme difficulty in a technical view. Lord Holland, however, lost no time in giving the most peremptory contradiction, and by an appeal to facts as notorious to all the world as the noon-day tide. The falsehood, like most calumnies, rested upon a truth, but a truth grossly perverted. The moneys which had passed through the Paymaster's hands were, in one sense, unaccounted; that is, the accounts of his office had not been wound up; but they had been delivered up to be under the examination of the auditors, and would be the final report of those functionaries. It is shown that those accounts, which extended to the years 1757, 1758, and 1759, had reference

to military expeditions in many distant parts of the globe, and that they related to a larger expenditure than in any former war had ever been incurred. Yet they were declared nine years after the expenditure closed. But Mr. Winnington's for 1745, and 1746, were only declared in 1760, or fourteen years after their close; and Lord Chatham which closed in 1755, were not declared in 1769. It is also to be observed that Lord Chatham had ceased to hold the office in 1755, and had not declared accounts fourteen years after; whereas Lord Hland had only resigned the paymastership three years and a half before the charge was made. He had paid over in eight years balances to the amount above 900,000*l.*, arising from savings which he effected in the sums voted for different services. It would certainly not be easy to furnish a more complete answer than the calumnious assertion of Livery thus received. But it is also certain that calumny long survived its triumphant refutation. Even in the later periods of party warfare it revived against the illustrious son of its obloquy. Men of our day can well remember Mr. Fox having it often flung in his teeth, that he was sprung from the "defaulter of unaccounted millions."

The foul slanders of Junius upon the Duke of Bedford differ from the calumny of the Livery in this—that they plainly furnish, to any one attentively considers them, complete proof of th

falsehood, in by far the most material particulars, and consequently should at once fall to the ground as generally discredited. And they would all did not men make it a rule to encourage error and defeat the ends of truth and justice, by lending a willing ear to all that is alleged against their fellow-creatures, and overlooking, or straight-forgetting, all that is urged in their defence.

The hatred which this writer evinced towards the Duke rests, as far as it has any public ground to support it, upon the junction of the Bedford with Lord Bute against Lord Chatham; but the probability there was some sordid or spiteful sting of a personal kind at the root of it. Lord Chatham had been, like all the great men of the age, the object of the slanderer's fiercest vituperation.

He had repeatedly treated him as a "lunatic," frequently as a "tyrant." Lurking under the name of Publicola, he had lavished upon him every sort of gross abuse which his vocabulary supplied; "man purely and perfectly bad;" a "traitor;" "intriguer;" a "hypocrite;" "so black a villain, that a gibbet is too honourable a situation for his carcass" (*Woodfall's Junius*, ii. 458). But in the course of a few months from his last attack, when he was in 1770, he became appeased; and, rather than from beginning to favour Lord Chatham as he had done before, or from mere hatred towards Lord Bute, his fury broke forth against the Bedford.

party, in the letter to its chief, which has been subject of so much observation, and is certainly most scurrilous of any that were printed under name of Junius.

This letter, beside a number of vague charges amounting only to intemperate abuse, accuses Duke in his public capacity of having betrayed trust as ambassador in negotiating the peace at Paris, and betrayed it for money : in his private capacity it charges him with avarice, and hardness of heart towards his only son, for whose sudden death, by a fall from his horse, no due feeling is evinced ; and in a capacity partly public, and partly private, it charges him with grossly insulting the sovereign at an audience of his Majesty. There is also, an allusion to a scene at Lichfield races, represented as derogatory to his honour as a gentleman.

1. He is accused of giving up Belleisle, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the Fishkill, and the Havanna. The proof of this, the main charge being corrupt conduct, rests upon the Duke's "pecuniary character," which made it "impossible that so many public sacrifices should be made without some private compensation." This "internal evidence," we are told, is "beyond all the proofs of a court of justice" (i. 510). When pressed by Sir W. Draper for proofs, the slanderer confidently reiterated his assertion, that the Duke's conduct "carried with it an internal and convi-

nce against him," adding, that "if nothing be true but what might be proved in a court of justice, then the Christian religion itself, which is supported upon internal evidence, never could have been proved and established" (ii. 25). Finally, he refers to De Torcy's Memoirs for a statement that a bribe may be offered to a duke and *only not be accepted*, meaning the Duke of Marlborough; from which the inference is that, because some duke has said one man was offered a bribe which he refused, therefore, another man must be believed to have been offered one and accepted it.

At any degree of public malice should have led men to the utter flimsiness of this charge, that any power of epigrammatic writing should have prevented all readers from flinging it away in contempt, seems really incredible. Yet this is not all, even the greater part, of the revolting absurdity. The charge is, upon the face of it, false, for it is manifestly impossible. To suppose that an ambassador sent to negotiate a peace has the power to accept any terms whatever which his employers might authorise him to accept, but above all, an ambassador sent to Paris and corresponding daily with the cabinet in London, argues a degree of thoughtless folly wholly incredible. As well might one suppose a courier who carries the instructions to be supposed to have the power of giving up islands and fisheries, or a negotiator. Besides, the whole course of

the negotiation in 1762 was conformable to that which, in 1761, had been begun while Lord Chatham was in office. The islands of Guadaloupe and St. Lucia had been offered by him, and Canada had been offered by France. These were the main body of the cessions on either side. The refusal in 1761, to make any peace without the King of Prussia, and the treating without him, in 1762, was the main difference in the two cases, and was amply accounted for by the abject state of the prince's fortunes in the former year, and his triumphant position in the latter.

The opinions of all men on the merits of the peace have long since been settled, and even at the time it escaped the fate which faction reserved for the next treaty that was made to terminate a war; it was approved by immense majorities of both Houses of Parliament—without a division in the Lords, by 319 to 65 in the Commons. The most eminent authorities both at home and abroad pronounced unbounded praise upon the ability displayed by the Duke in the negotiation. The King himself was beyond measure pleased with it, and showed his sense of the services rendered in a marked manner. The ministers declared that no man but the Duke could have so conducted the negotiation, and that no man had ever rendered so great a service to the state. The veteran diplomatists, Sir Joseph Yorke and Sir Andrew Mitchell, affixed to the treaty the stamp

heartly admiration ; and Lord Granville, having lived to witness the event, declared that "the glorious war had been terminated by the honourable peace this country ever saw."

nally, the story of French gold having been not, indeed, to perform the impossible feat of buying our ambassador's surrender of colonies, but in over his employers, had been imputed by the busy-body, called Dr. Musgrave, some time before Junius took up the slander, and a member of the House of Commons, having soon after investigated the matter, had reported that it was wholly frivolous and destitute of all foundation.

this is fatal to the credit of Junius for veracity, and at once and clearly convicts him of fabrication. the parties named by Musgrave were the younger Princess of Wales, Lord Bute, and Lord Sandwich ; the Duke of Bedford not being named or alluded to at all in the story.* Yet Junius revives the refuted tale after it had been notoriously refuted by the political enemies of the parties named ; and he transfers the story to a party on whom, frivolous as it was, the slander never had been made by its author to attach.

one accidental particular, the ambassador had the opportunity of acting upon his own responsibility,

Woodfall (i. 571), with a most inexcusable inaccuracy, repeats the story as if it had comprehended the Duke. He was in any way referred to.

calumnies. The journal of the Duke has been published, and though up to the hour of his action there is a regular entry of each day's occurrences, a whole month appears in blank from Marquess's accident, which only proved fatal at the end of above a fortnight. Horace Walpole, who writes at the time and was no careless collector of scandal, describes him as "a man of inflexible honesty and love for his country;" vindicates him from all suspicion of parsimony; declares that he loved money it was only "in order to use it sensibly and with kindness to others;" and says a word to countenance the imputation of his showing an unfeeling nature.* Another witness of great fame, no less than David Hume, then Under Secretary of State, bears a more direct testimony to the passage in question of the Duke's life. Writing Madame de Barbantane, he says that "no one at first believed he would have survived the loss, and in a letter written between three and four months later to Madame de Boufflers, he says he was fortunate for the Duke that the calumny came upon him "when public business gave him his first opportunity of making him take a part to distract his attention, but that he has not yet recovered."

* In a new publication since this was printed, one letter Walpole represents the Duke as almost killed by the accident and only saved by his body breaking out in boils: a subsequent letter treats his attendance in Parliament as unfeeling. But the former passage is fact; the latter is surmise.

ck." He adds that the Duchess, "to whom
 rld had not ascribed so great a degree of
 ity, is still inconsolable." Such testimony
 ll be deemed to countervail the fabrications
 us. But Junius is read because of his style,
 a corrupt taste prizes very far above its
 and the character of a just, a generous, and
 able man is sacrificed to the morbid taste for
 steeped in epigram.*

he story respecting an insult offered to the
 at once refuted by naming that sovereign :
 George III. Who can for a moment believe
 y man durst treat him as Junius impudently
 es, partly in the foul text, partly in the

note? "He demanded an audience of the
 reproached him in plain terms with his
 ty, baseness, falsehood, treachery, hypocrisy,
 dly gave him the lie, and left him in con-
 as." This was in the year 1769, when George
 d nearly attained his thirtieth year. Is it
 ry to say more than to express our special
 r at any credit having ever been given to a
 so shamelessly careless of the accuracy or
 robability of his statements—a writer who

ecause of truth is much indebted to the industry of Mr.
 , the able and well-informed editor of Sir H. Caven-
 dmirable debates, in bringing together these extracts
 ontemporary writers of reputation to refute the ca-
 s of Junius.

gravely tells things which no mortal can for a moment believe?*

This may at least be said of the periodical press of the present day,—that those who conduct it, and who are, many of them, careless enough of the truth, indifferent enough to falsehoods which they propagate, and ready enough to circulate the tales they hear against those with whom they are pleased to assail, nevertheless feel the necessity of preserving some colour of probability of keeping some measure in their relations; and would dread the loss of their credit for common sense, as well as veracity, were they to print tales as Junius possibly believed and certainly without scruple circulated.

4. That some man, said to have been intoxicated on a race-course, insulted the Duke of Bedford, Lord Trentham (afterwards Lord Stafford), Mr. Rigby, is very possible. It was the outbreak of a Jacobite mob in 1746,† enraged at their recent failure, and the parties were tried for the same. That the chief assailant was of a description with

* He used strong and honest language in remonstrance with the King, but never anything approaching to violence and insult described by Junius.

† The Duke was staying on a visit at Lord Trentham and the Gower family had just left the Pretender's party, to so great indignation of the Jacobites, that Dr. Johnson names them to exemplify the word *renegade* in the first edition of his Dictionary. The scuffle was plainly directed, by a Jacobite mob, against the party coming to the race-course from Trentham, and the Duke chanced to be one.

made any personal revenge wholly out of the question has never been doubted. The same accident might have happened to the Duke of Marlborough or Marshal Turenne. Who but a slanderer of the basest order would ever have even made an allusion to such a matter?

It is hardly necessary to add anything in illustration of the utter indifference to all consideration of truth or falsehood which formed part of this writer's nature. But a singular instance of this remains, as it were, on record, and it shows so mean a disposition that we may, with some benefit, contemplate it. That anonymous writers will make assertions which they never would venture upon were their persons known, is a position so highly probable that we require little evidence to make us believe it. But their whole conduct, while skulking behind a veil, proves it. We have not often, however, such a demonstration of this truth as Junius has furnished. He had written a letter in answer to some one pretending to be a female and signing her name *Junia*, but since avowed to be Caleb Whitefoord. This answer is in a tone of somewhat more than gallantry: it savours of indecency; it has more than mere levity. Whether for this reason, or because the discovery of his having been taken in to write such an amorous epistle to a man seemed likely to cover the party with inextinguishable ridicule, and, from the caprice

of the public, to ruin a popularity which the grave crimes of malice and falsehood had fairly injure ; certain it is that Junius repented he had written his answer, and he then scrupled not to retract a lie which his poor publisher printed as his assertion, knowing it to be false. “ We have reason to suspect (says Mr. Woodfall, four years after the unfortunate letter appeared) that the letter signed ‘ Junius,’ inserted in this paper of Thursday last, was not written by the real Junius ; that we imagine it to have been sent by some one of his waggish friends, who has taken great pains to do so in a manner similar to that of Junius, which objection escaped us at that time. The printer took liberty to hint that it will not do a second time — *Edit.* (iii. 218.) The substance of this falsehood, nay, almost every word of the first and sentence of it, was written by Junius himself and sent to the printer in a letter containing what likelihood is another falsehood, namely, that “ we are people about him whom he does not wish to contradict, and who had rather see Junius in his papers ever so improperly than not at all ” (i. 100). He desires Mr. Woodfall to “ hit off some more plausible if he can, but without a positive assertion ;” intending, of course, should he ever be discovered and should not be able to fix the tradition upon his printer, to deny that he had told the lie directly. In the history of anony-

ings there have been few passages more mean,
 reflecting more light on the consequences of a
 bit of anonymous slander. This complicated
 one of falsehood was enacting at the very time
 at the letter to the Duke of Bedford was in pre-
 paration; that letter is announced in the 'Adver-
 ser' in consequence of a note dated Sept. 15, at
 which time, we are told, it was "copying out." The
 note desiring the untruth to be inserted is dated Sept.
 10th. Surely some discredit naturally rests on the
 unvouched assertions of a person who, while en-
 gaged in committing them to paper, is also oc-
 cupied with framing elaborate falsehoods for the
 purpose of extricating himself from a difficulty of
 his own creating. Such, at least, would be the
 result in a case of any other description, touching
 any witness who came forward in his own proper
 person to accuse his neighbour. But there prevails
 a most inexplicable disposition in the public to
 judge nameless calumniators by different rules from
 those which all mankind apply to known accusers;
 and to make the very fact of their skulking in the
 dark, the very circumstance of their being un-
 known to all the world, a ground of giving credence
 to them, and a protection to them from the ordinary
 objections to discreditable testimony. Because
 they do not appear, they are supposed unassailable,
 whereas the inference should rather be that they have
 good reason for not showing themselves.

There is no characteristic more universal of writers than their indiscriminate railing. They are, in very deed, no respecters of persons. Their hand is against every one. Obscure themselves they habitually envy all fame. Low far beneath the honest man's level, as, they feel conscious, they sink were the veil removed which conceals them, they delight in pulling all others down to the same degradation with themselves. No envy alone that stimulates their malignant appetites. Instinctively aware of the scorn in which they are held, and sure that, were the darkness dispelled which they lurk, all hands would be raised against them, they obey the animal impulse of fear, and they indulge in a propensity to work destruction.

To these remarks Junius affords no exception. It is untrue to assert, as some have done, that he had his idols. Lord Chatham has been named, we have seen how, more than any other statesman of his age, that venerable patriot was assailed by his foulest abuse; assaulted not indeed unduly, but another disguise. For as unmitigated vituperation would pall upon the appetite, as like sweets may require to be dashed and varied, even Junius found it necessary to give some brilliancy to his pictures, and to paint some figures of a brighter hue; not to mention that contrast being necessary in order to blame the more effectually, as Sir Philip Francis in his own person understood.

“Praise is bearable when used in *odium* *tui*.” Eulogy, however, thus bestowed by commission, was soon repented and begrudged; nor could so ungenial a soil long support so exotic a plant. If Junius could not with safety for his consistency extirpate it, he ceased to foster it, and named it, or let it die away; and he had always the resource of changing his mask, and then Pubola could make up by increased virulence and irritability for the temporary laudation into which Junius had been driven or beguiled.

It is almost equally incorrect to say that Lord Mansfield was not attacked by Junius. He is in one place represented as “an object neither of respect or esteem,” and as having at different times held every kind of opinion and conduct (iii. 174); in another as the “invader of the constitution, after trampling the laws under his feet” (ii. 472); and, a third, as “an apostate lawyer, weak enough to sacrifice his own character, and base enough to betray the laws of his country” (ii. 457).*

The attacks of Junius upon Lord Mansfield have been treated of in a former volume, and it has been shown how utterly void of foundation all those charges were. In fact, the whole originated in

* It appears to me that the weight of internal evidence is strong in favour of Mr. Burke being the author of Junius, at his own positive and solemn denial alone can make us believe it. (Cor. i. 275.)

the most profound ignorance of the subject with which the nameless slanderer had undertaken to discuss. That his venom, however, produced some effect was undeniable. The spirit of party; the general desire to see a great man humbled; above all, the feeling which, it must be confessed, prevails in the people of this country, unfriendly to the judicial dignity though sufficiently respectful towards the administration of justice in the abstract—all worked to the advantage of the authors and disseminators of the groundless accusations, and made men not indeed suppose that Lord Mansfield was “the very worst and most dangerous man in the whole kingdom,” but that he was open to attack beyond other judges, and was no longer so invulnerable as the voice of the profession had hitherto pronounced him to be. As a proof of how much progress unprosecuted slander had made in undermining this great magistrate’s reputation at least for a moment, take the following passage in Horace Walpole’s Letters: it was written in the beginning of the session, 1770-1. “If we have nothing else to do after the holidays, we amuse ourselves with worrying Lord Mansfield, who, between irregularities in his court, timid and want of judgment, has lowered himself to the object of hatred to many, and of contempt to every body. I do not think that he could re-establish himself if he were to fight Governor Johnston” (*Letters to Sir H. Mann*, ii. 120).

effects of continually assailing a judge are at singular. Because it is an unquestioned position that judicial reputation ought never rashly attacked, and that all society have rest in upholding it, there arises a monstrous notion that when this rule is violated there must be some ground for the imputation; and thus the principle which should be a safeguard of the Bench is converted into a sapping its authority. Add to this, that a judge can have long filled his place without offence to numerous individuals and to members of his own profession, even although he has not had the disposal of patronage, the outlet of all the sources of official unpopularity. A judge too, when assailed, is extremely passive. He is essentially a passive character. He means of exhibiting whatever pugnacity he is endowed with, even in self-defence. This, with all generous natures would operate as his aid, only furnishes an additional temptation for other beings, and encourages them in their assault. The result certainly is that temporary clouds generally overcast the brightest judicial reputation at some period of its course. But it is certain that such clouds speedily pass away; and now thinks the worse of Lord Mansfield than of Junius.

It is not even true that the family of Lord Holland were always treated with respect, although from the certain fact of the Francisces, whom the family patronised, being at least connected with Junius, if not the real authors of the Letters, could hardly be supposed that it would ever be the object of his assiduous abuse. But nothing can be more contemptuous than his treatment of Fox, whom he suspected, evidently against all probability, of having written an answer to one of his Letters; and while he plainly states that Lord Holland is "not invulnerable," he throws out a dark threat to the son, and, indeed, to the whole family, to beware how they provoke him (iii. 41) signing the letter "Anti-Fox."

The only public man of any mark whom he appears to be Mr. George Grenville. This exception he certainly owed much less to his truly respectable and indeed invulnerable character, than to the circumstance of his being anything rather than a brilliant person, and to the accident of his being wholly removed from power and office, and alienated from all political influence, during the last years of his honourable and useful life. But it may further be remarked, that he died long before the close of Junius's writings. These extended to 1772, under various names, and under the most famous of his signatures, to the month of Janu-

year ; and Mr. Grenville died in November, before more than half the career of Junius had accomplished.

universal was his attack.—But although the be trite, that he who accuses all men convicts one, it is, after all, on the audacity of shreds that the bad character of this writer, of all his tribe, rests, although to this his very influence was in great part owing. His abuse of the Duke of Grafton and Lord Stanhope can hardly be termed mere licentious ribaldry—truth is plainly violated when the former is called “the infamous Duke of Grafton,” one clothed with the infamy of a notorious breach of trust—one “degraded below the condition of a slave”—when the latter is described “as totally unworthy of his own honour,” noted for “the weakness of his heart,” and a “steady perseverance in villainy ;” “long since discarding every principle of justice ;” a man “every one action of whose life in two years has separately deserved imprisonment.”

But many specific accusations were scattered abroad. We have seen the pure invention of the writer’s malice in the falsehoods deliberately told against the Duke of Bedford, especially the fabrication respecting the Peace of 1763 and we have seen how he grafted that upon the story imported by Dr. Musgrave and relating to other parties. That his

motive was to hit in the point which he believed was the most sensitive, is beyond all doubt. The Duke's public character mainly rested on the success of his negotiation; and, as he was naturally tenacious of that reputation, so were the people of this country equally alive to any suspicion of pecuniary corruption in public men. Therefore it was that the species of falsehood must be coined which should meet those several demands for it. But we are not left to conjecture upon this point. Under the writer's own hand we have a history of the designs over which his heart brooded. The printer had been deterred from publishing a letter, under the signature of Vindex, by the fear of prosecution. Junius tells him that the charge contained in it is the only one to which its object has not long been callous. The intended victim was the King; the charge was of cowardice! "I must tell you," says Junius, "and with positive certainty, that our gracious — is as callous as stockfish to every thing but the reproach of *cowardice*. That alone is able to set the humours afloat. After a paper of that kind he won't eat meat for a week" (i. 221). I need hardly add that the utter falsehood of such a charge was at all times of George III.'s life admitted by all parties, even in the utmost heat of factious conflict. But this writer, with the malignity of a fiend, frames his falsehood in order to assail with certainty the tender point of his victim.

such, we may be assured, are the motives which animate the greater number of those who drive the trade of the concealed slanderer.

It is truly painful to reflect upon the success which attended the disreputable labours of this sort, at a time when good writing was very rare in ephemeral publications, and long before the medical press had lost its influence and respectability by the excesses into which of late years it has run. The boldness of the assaults made upon individuals, full as much as the power with which they were conducted, had the effect of overawing the public, and in many cases of silencing those against whom they operated. The very circumstances which should have impaired their force gave them, as it always does, additional impression. The "*known*" and the "*grand*" were, as usual, condensed. The same things which, said by any one individual, though respectable in himself, would have had but little weight, seemed to proceed from a powerful and undefined power, which might be one man's, and might possess an importance that the imagination was left to expand at will. But it is still so painful to observe such men as Lord North and Mr. Burke lending themselves to support the popular delusion; the one from his wonted candour and good humour, the other from factious motives; and, in some degree, from the kind of fear which even superstitious men sacrifice to evil spirits.

Lord North calls him "the great Boar of Forest," and the "mighty Junius:" Mr. Burke wishes that Parliament had the benefit of "knowledge, his firmness, his integrity." It would have been a worthier task for Lord North to bring his unblushing falsehoods to trial before a jury his country, as the Duke of Bedford should certainly have done ; and it would have conferred much honour on Mr. Burke to have joined with all gentlemen in reprobating the practices by which one of the foulest of libellers degraded the liberty of the press and prepared the way for the excesses which Lord Burke himself was fated afterwards to depict and the contempt into which his perspicacity did not then perceive this great safeguard of liberty was at a still later period in peril of falling.

At all events, we who now have had leisure to contemplate the period in which those great statesmen lived, and to weigh the justice of their tributes to this too celebrated writer, have the duty laid upon us of exposing his falsehoods, and of rendering a necessary, though a tardy reparation, to the characters which he unscrupulously assailed. It is there any duty the discharge of which brings along with it more true satisfaction. It may be humble in its execution, but its aim is lofty ; it may be feebly performed, but it is exceedingly grateful. Nor can any one rise from his labours with a more heartfelt satisfaction than he who

s that he has contributed to rescue merit from
 guy, and to further the most sacred of all
 interests, the defeat of injustice—injustice
 which they share who fear to resist it. “Sed
 titiæ genera duo sunt; unum eorum qui infe-
 ; alterum eorum qui ab iis, quibus infertur,
 ssunt, non propulsant injuriam.” (Cic. *De*
I.) *

But of injustice there are two kinds : one, theirs who do
 ury; the other, theirs who do not prevent an injury
 they have the power.”

EARL CAMDEN.

AMONG the names that adorn the legal profession there are few which stand so high as that of Camden. His reputation as a lawyer could not have gained this place for him ; even as a judge he not have commanded such distinction, though on the Bench he greatly increased the fame which he brought from the bar ; but in the senate he stood professionally superior, and his integrity for the part spotless in all the relations of public life and the manly firmness which he uniformly displayed in maintaining the free principles of the constitution, wholly unmixed with any leaning to extravagant popular opinions, or any disposition to court vulgar favour, justly entitle him to the highest place among the Judges of England.

It was a remarkable circumstance that although he entered the profession with all the advantages of an elevated station, he was less successful in its pursuit and came more slowly into its emoluments, than almost all others that can be mentioned who have raised themselves to its more eminent heights.

humble and even obscure beginnings. One can hardly name any other chief judge, except Bacon himself, who was the son of a chief justice. Lord Camden's father presided in the Court of King's Bench. He himself was called to the bar in his twenty-fourth year, and he continued to await the arrival of clients,—their “knocks at his door while the cock crew,” *—for fourteen long years; but to wait in vain. In his thirty-eighth year he was, like Lord Eldon, on the point of retiring from Westminster Hall, and had resolved to shelter himself from the frowns of fortune within the walls of his College, there to live upon his fellowship till a vacant living in the country should fall to his share. This resolution he communicated to his friend Henley, afterwards so well known first as Lord Keeper, and then as Lord Chancellor Northington, who vainly endeavoured to rally him out of a despondency for which, it must be confessed, there seemed good ground. He consented, however, at his friend's solicitation, to go once more the Western Circuit, and through his kind offices received a brief as his junior in an important cause—offices not perhaps in those days so severely reprobated as they now are by the more stern etiquette of the profession.

The leader's accidental illness threw upon Mr. Pratt the conduct of the cause; and his great elo-

* *Sub galli cantum, consultor ubi ostia pulsat.*—*Hor.*

quence, and his far more important qualification of legal knowledge and practical expertness in management of business, at once opened for him the way to a brilliant fortune. His success was now secure. After eight years of very considerable practice, though unequal to that which most of great leaders have attained, he was made at once Attorney-General; and three years after, in 1749, raised to the Bench as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, "the pillow," according to Lord Coke "whereon the attorney doth rest his head." In 1749, when in his forty-sixth year, he had been chosen to represent the borough of Downton, during his short experience of the House of Commons he appears not to have gained any distinction. The rewards of parliamentary ambition were reserved to a later period of his life.

Of his forensic talents no records remain, beyond a general impression of the accuracy which he showed as a lawyer, though not of the most profound description; *par negotiis neque supra*.^{*} The fame of his legal arguments in Westminster Hall is not of that species which at once rises to the mind on the mention of Dunning's name, or Wallace's, the admirable variety and fertility of whose juridical resources were such that "their points are spoken of to this day, and spoken of with admiration. But he greatly excelled them both

* Equal to business, no more.

ers as a leader at Nisi Prius ; and his eloquence apparently of that chaste and gentle but persuasive kind which distinguished his great rival Eray, and made all the readers of Milton in-
 untarily apply to him the famous portraiture of
 lial—

Belial, in act more graceful and humane—

A fairer person lost not heaven; he seemed

For dignity composed and high exploit.

His tongue

Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear

The better reason.

t his eminently judicial qualifications shone forth
 ispiciously when he rose into their proper sphere.
 s unwearied patience, his unbroken suavity of
 inner, his unruffled calmness of temper, the more
 be admired because it was the victory of deter-

ned resolution over a natural infirmity, his lucid
 arness of comprehension and of statement, his
 mory singularly powerful and retentive, his
 at anxiety to sift each case to the very bottom,
 d his scrupulous, perhaps extreme, care to assign
 reasons for every portion of his opinions, went
 to constitute a perfect judge, inferior in value
 nigh these qualities might be to the profound
 rning that has marked some great magistrates,
 Lord Eldon and the older lawyers ; and, per-
 pa, to the union of marvellous quickness with
 re sagacity, for which others, like the Kenyons,
 d the Holroyds, and the Littledales, have been

famous. There was, however, in Lord Camden a deficiency of legal accomplishments, nor any way either of quickness or of perspicacity in the conduct of judicial business. And it must ever be remembered, that as a judge has always, or almost always the statements and the suggestions of all parties before him, and is thus rather placed in a passive situation, those faculties of rapid perception and deep penetration, that circumspection which no man can escape, and that decision, at once prompt and firm, which instantly meets the exigencies of each sudden emergency, are far less essential virtues, far less useful attributes of the ermine than of the gown. It is but rarely that a judge can be taken off his guard; never in any important civil suit unless by some accident there is an extreme overmatch of the advocate upon one side compared with his antagonist; and chiefly possible in criminal cases, disposed of by a law which lies within narrow compass, and connected with facts general of ordinary occurrence and easy to deal with. It would thus be extremely erroneous to underestimate Lord Camden's judicial qualities, merely because there have been many more consummate masters of English jurisprudence upon the bench, and some even of more extraordinary sagacity, quickness, and penetration.

In the great qualities of sustained dignity, chastity, and therefore, not exaggerated propriety of demeanour

r, absolute impartiality, and fearless declaration of his conscientious opinion, how surely soever it might expose him to the frowns of power, or the more galling censure of his profession, this eminent magistrate had no superior, very few equals. That profession is ever singularly jealous of such points, and particularly prone to suspect such conduct as proceeding from a love of popularity, which these learned men, having but rarely been able to taste, are extremely apt to pronounce unsavoury, citing the illustrious chancellor and philosopher, of whom they peradventure have only heard the one saying, that "a popular judge is a deformed thing, and *plaudites* are fitter for players than for magistrates." This propensity of the bar Lord Camden well knew; but he felt above all heed of its effects, conscious that he was instigated by no childish love of plebeian applause, and only acted the part of an honest man in showing by his judgments those sentiments which ever filled his breast—a sincere love of public liberty, and an tire devotion to the principles of the British constitution.

The decision of this great judge upon the question of general warrants, raised by the attempt

Lord Halifax, the Secretary of State, to search the house of Wilkes, and commit him to prison without a specification of his person or of his offence, further than stating it to be the publication

of a seditious and treasonable paper, is well known to every reader; and no less known is the marked contrast of the dignified and severe justice of the bench, and the trumpery vapouring talk of the profligate trader in mob favour, whose oppression by illegal exercise of power, had arrayed in defence even those who most scorned his character and distrusted his professions. It was on the ground of his arrest being a breach of his parliamentary privilege that he obtained his discharge. This cause came before Lord Camden, as did the actions brought in consequence against the Secretary of State's messengers, who had executed a general warrant, the year after the Chief Justice came upon the bench. On the *habeas corpus*, he had expressed an opinion, in which his brethren concurred, that such warrants were justified by numerous precedents. But when he tried at law Prius the actions for false imprisonment, in which the legality of general warrants came in question, he declared his opinion to be that they were illegal, adding these memorable words—"If the opinion of the judges, and the highest authority in this kingdom, the House of Peers, should pronounce my opinion erroneous, I submit, as will become me, and I shall take the rod; but I must say, that I shall always consider it as a rod of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain."

The tenour of the warrant was, "to make at

and diligent search for the authors and printers of a certain seditious and treasonable paper, entitled No. 45 of the North Briton, and them, or any of them being so found, to apprehend and secure, together with their papers, and to bring them in safe custody to be examined, and further dealt with according to law." The special jury who tried the cause returned, after a trial of fifteen hours, a verdict for the plaintiff, with 1000*l.* damages, in entire accordance with the Chief Justice's direction.

When a new trial was moved for misdirection, his Lordship spoke these memorable words—"To enter a man's house, by virtue of a nameless warrant, in order to procure evidence, is worse than the Spanish Inquisition—a law under which no Englishman would wish to live an hour. It is a daring public attack upon the liberty of the subject, and in violation of the 29th chapter of Magna Charta (*Nullus liber homo*, &c.), which is directly pointed against that arbitrary power."*

The applause of his countrymen, that applause which Lord Mansfield so eloquently described as following great actions and not run after, was dealt out to the Chief Justice in a liberal measure. The corporations of Dublin, Bath, Exeter, Norwich,

* *Buckle v. Money*, 2 Wils. 205. The imprisonment had only been for six hours, and the treatment unexceptionable, but the Chief Justice had charged the jury on its being a violation of public liberty.

besought him to accept their freedom. Lo herself enrolled him among her citizens, placed upon the walls of Guildhall his portrait magnificently painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and an inscription at once simple, chaste, and “*In honorem tanti viri Anglicæ libertatis assertoris.*” *

Two years only elapsed before he was raised to the peerage; and in 1766 he succeeded his able and steady friend, Lord North, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He held the great seal about four years.

If his decisions in the Court of Chancery, during that period, have never been the subject of panegyric, they certainly have escaped all censure, and he was of too firm a mind, and, at the time, too discreet and modest, to fall into the error which shipwrecked the judicial fame of many equity judges, well versed in the practice of the courts. He neither, like some of his successors, so vacillated, so disliked to pronounce the opinion he had formed, as to put off the evil day of decision, nor did he overwhelm his court with causes heard undetermined; nor did he place, like other chief justices, his chief praise in unhesitating and promiscuous grants of writs, directing all his efforts to pressing the arguments which it was his duty to hear, and estimating his merit by the number of cases rather than the excellence, of his judgments,

* In honour of so eminent a man, assertor by the English liberty.

draw from Sir Samuel Romilly the comparison, at he preferred the slow justice of the Chancellor his Deputy's speedy injustice. From these opposite rocks the calm and even course of Lord Camden's administration of justice preserved him safe. And, beside obtaining the praise of having dispatched all the court's business in a manner to give the suitors and the bar satisfaction, he has left judgments on important questions of great merit. It may be enough to mention the well-known case upon Bills of Review, *Smith v. Clay*, which fixes the law of the court upon that very important question; and which he decided in an argument, tolerably well preserved in some reports, and an argument combining the highest qualities of judicial eloquence. His judgment in the great case of *Duke of Northumberland v. Earl of Egremont*, after an argument of several days, also possesses rare excellence.*

In parliament, his judicial as well as political conduct may be deservedly regarded as a model. In the celebrated Douglas cause, his argument on moving the reversal of the Court of Session's judgment, and establishing the legitimacy of the

* Ambler, 647 and 657, contains a very abridged account of these cases. I was favoured with Sir S. Romilly's full copy of my illustrious predecessor's judgment in *Smith v. Clay*, and communicated it to the Court during the first year that I held the Great Seal.

party claiming the Duke of Douglas's large estates possesses the greatest merit. Lord Mansfield's engaged more of the public attention at the time chiefly because of the famous letters of Andrew Stuart, to which it gave rise, and in which he was most severely and ably attacked. But whoever reads both speeches will find it difficult to refuse the preference to the Chancellor's; although there is every reason to believe that the Chief Justice's has been very imperfectly preserved. Both are to be found in the second volume of the *Collectanea Juridica*. But Andrew Stuart treats Lord Mansfield's as never having been published fairly, and from authority; and he dares him to the publication, in terms which seem to imply an intimation that there was something not convenient to give through the press, and a suspicion that the cautious Chief Justice would not venture upon the course pointed out.* It is moreover quite certain that the printed account to which I have referred contains no mention of Andrew Stuart, hardly a reference to him, while Lord Camden's speech is filled with direct charges distinctly brought against

* "If the multiplicity of your other affairs be assigned as an excuse for avoiding to give any answer, there is another method which may serve to afford me satisfaction and may possibly do justice to yourself without consuming much of your time. *It is to publish to the world your speech against me in the Douglas cause.*"—Letter iv. page 6 (The Italics are in the original.)

m; and yet the defence is entirely made against Lord Mansfield, and no assault whatever made upon Lord Camden. Lord Mansfield's judgment, as reported, is a wretched performance, and chiefly rests on this position, that a woman of Lady Jane Douglas's illustrious descent could not be guilty of a fraud.

I have spoken of Lord Camden's judicial conduct in the Courts of Westminster Hall, and in the House of Lords. He was, however, fully more eminent in the senate than in the forum. He brought into parliament a high professional reputation; and beside the reputation which this and his great office gave him, his talents were peculiarly fitted to shine in debate. An admirable memory, ample quickness of apprehension, sufficient learning for all ordinary occasions, a clear and pleasing locution, great command of himself, a natural vivacity which gave his manner animation without effort, rendered him one of the most impressive and pleasing speakers of his time. His conduct, too, had been uniform and consistent; he was always, whether on the Bench, or in the Council, in Parliament, the friend of constitutional liberty, of which he steadily proved the honest and temperate defender. He had taken a part which indicated some considerable difference with his colleagues, on the important question of American taxation; but after he had been Chancellor

between three and four years, this difference occasioned his removal from office; and the disclosures were made which, it cannot be denied served to cast some shade over a portion at least of his official conduct. The circumstances attending this passage in Lord Camden's life are extremely instructive, as throwing light upon the principles of the times, and in this view they deserve to be more closely considered.

When upon the assembling of parliament in January, 1770, Lord Chatham moved an amendment, pledging the Lords, with all convenient speed, to take into consideration the causes of the prevailing discontents, and particularly the proceedings of the Commons touching Wilkes's election, and closed his remarkable reply by affirming that "where the law ends the tyranny begins," Lord Camden rose and declared, with a warmth unusual to him, that he had accepted the Great Seal without condition, and meant not to be tramelled by the king (then correcting his expression —by his ministers; but he added, "I have suffered myself to be so too long. I have beheld, with silent indignation, the arbitrary measures of the minister. I have long drooped and held down my head in council, and disapproved with my looks those steps which I knew my avowed opposition could not prevent. I will do so no longer, but openly and boldly speak my sentiments." He then

supported Lord Chatham's amendment; declared that, if as a judge he should pay any respect to the vote of the Commons, he should look upon himself as a traitor to his trust and an enemy to his country; accused the ministers of causing the existing discontents; and all but in terms, certainly by implication, charged them with having formed a conspiracy against the liberties of the people. The ministers whom he thus accused had, through all the time of their measures causing the discontents, and their conspiracy against public liberty, been his colleagues, and still were his colleagues; for, strange to tell, he made this speech without having taken any step to resign the Great Seal. It is not to be wondered at that those colleagues should complain of such unexampled conduct, though they might have had themselves to thank for it; but it is singular that a month elapsed before their complaint could find a vent. On Lord Rockingham's motion for a Committee on the State of the Nation, at the beginning of February, Lord Sandwich charged the late Chancellor with duplicity in permitting the proceedings against Wilkes to proceed without remonstrance, and refusing to give any opinion respecting them. Lord Camden positively asserted, upon his honour, that he had informed the Duke of Grafton of his opinion, that those proceedings were both imprudent and illegal. The Duke admitted that he had once intimated,

but not in express terms, that he thought the measure impolitic or ill timed; but that he had never given his opinion on the vote of incapacity—on the contrary, that whenever the subject was agitated in the cabinet he had remained silent, retired; and Lord Weymouth confirmed the Duke's statement, adverting to one particular occasion upon which, on the bare mention of expulsion from incapacity, Lord Camden had withdrawn from discussion. Lord Camden repeated his assertion that he had always entertained a strong opinion against the proceedings, and had frequently pressed it; but he admitted that, finding his opinion rejected or despised, he had absented himself from a cabinet where his presence could only distract his colleagues from a course already resolved upon and which his single voice could not prevent them from pursuing. Lord Chatham asserted, that Lord Camden had frequently made the same statement to him, supporting it by cogent reasons.

Upon this very extraordinary passage various remarks arise. But first of all it is natural to observe upon the singular state of a government thus conducted. The administration of public affairs in a very critical emergency, or what those comparatively quiet times was so regarded appears to have been committed to men who had little or no confidence in each other; and the first minister, in point of rank, the chief law adviser

e crown, the very head of the law, differed
y from all his colleagues upon the two great
ions of the day, yet withheld his opposition
eir measures, and even absented himself from
consultations as often as those matters were
ssed. If anything could make this state of
s more intolerable, and more inconsistent with
ublic good, it was the undoubted fact that the
pressing of the two questions, the proceeding
cting Wilkes, was entirely of a legal and
itutional nature, on which the Chancellor's
on was the most indispensably required, and
a question intimately connected with, if not
ly arising out of, judicial proceedings over
a the Chancellor had himself, while Chief
ce of the Common Pleas, presided.

he next remark which suggests itself is, that
abinet had no great right to complain of the
taken by Lord Camden; for he plainly had
his colleagues to understand that he differed
them, and that on this account he withheld
opinion from them. They had a right to
t; they were entitled to require his aid, and
is refusing it, to demand his resignation.

chose to retain him amongst them, and
fore they took him on his own terms. But
arty which had a right to complain of L
len had an equal right to complain of all his
es, and that party was the country. A cal

so constructed and so acting was wholly incapable of well administering the affairs of the nation, it was the duty of his colleagues to require either his full co-operation or his retirement; and at all it was the duty of Lord Camden to relinquish his exalted station whenever he did not choose to perform its highest duties. To remain in office while he disapproved of the government's proceedings; to be responsible for measures on which he pronounced no opinion, but held an adverse one; to continue a nominal minister of the crown while the most important acts were doing in his name, which he believed must involve the country in a war with her colonies, and endanger the peace of the empire at home—acts which he regarded as hostile to the principles of the constitution and subversive of the people's most sacred rights—was surely an offence of as high a nature as ever statesman committed. If it be said that he continued responsible for those measures, the answer is, that this rather aggravates than attenuates the charge; for he was responsible only because he in truth joined to execute them. Instead of opposing them, as was his bounden duty, he aided in giving them effect.

It is impossible to contemplate this subject without once more being struck with the very high point at which political virtue in those times was pitched. The most constitutional judge who had

up to that time ever sat upon the bench, one of the purest politicians that had ever appeared, is found to have persevered in a course of official conduct which all men in our day would regard as an enormous delinquency. Instead of his becoming the object of universal reprobation, the only censure called down upon him by the disclosure was a single attack in one debate, in which the great leader of the high constitutional party warmly defended him, and his supporters joined with their applause. The spirit of party no doubt greatly contributed to this result; the joy of the opposition was buoyant over so great a shock as Lord Camden's opposition to his colleagues gave the ministry; and accordingly we find Lord Shelburne expressing a hope, that "the Great Seal would go a begging, and that no one would be found base and mean-spirited enough to accept it upon such conditions as might gratify the ministers, as soon as the present worthy Chancellor should be dismissed;" for it is none of the least strange parts of the transaction, though apparently a thing not unusual in those times, that the Chancellor's opposition to the government was offered while he remained in office; he was not dismissed till a week after he had avowed his difference with his colleagues, and charged them by implication with a conspiracy against public liberty.

Nevertheless, it must be observed, that the lower

tone of political morality and the prevalence of faction will not wholly account for the singular circumstances which we have been considering. The exclusion of the public from a view of all that passed in parliament must be taken into the account.* If instead of an occasional and surreptitious glance at the debates of their representatives and of the peers, the people had daily read a full account of these proceedings, and if the conduct of public men had been constantly subjected to the scrutiny of the nation through the press, it can nowise be doubted that the extraordinary disclosures made upon Lord Camden's quitting office would have excited universal indignation. It can as little be questioned that, had he and his colleagues been always acting under the vigilant eye of the nation at large, and accountable to it as well as to their party-adherents and party-adversaries—the men equally engaged in playing against each other the game of faction, regardless of the country—no such state of things could have existed in the cabinet as we have been contemplating, and no man could have ventured to hold

* It is hardly to be believed that as late as 1770 the *Annual Register* should not venture to do more than indistinctly and without names hint at any part of the proceedings which we have been describing. Lord Camden's statement, and Lord Sandwich's accusation of him, are not even alluded to. The Sovereign is only mentioned by the letter K., Parliament by P., and the House of Commons by H. of C.

course as we have seen Lord Camden, safe
insured, pursued.

7, we may draw from these particulars in
ry, an inference suggested also by the
recently published of his two predecessors,
ig and Lord Cowper, that the importance
hancellor in former times was far inferior
which this high functionary now enjoys.
lawyer may now, as formerly, hold the
l, and may now, as then, have little of the
hich he ought, for the safety of the cabinet
good of the country, to possess. But if
of statesmanlike accomplishments, is now
that high office, or even any one who,
d Eldon, had previously never given his
state affairs, yet possessed a capacity for
a part in their direction, the influence
must enjoy knows hardly any bounds but
ich his own inclination or the jealousy of
agues may prescribe. It was not so a
ago,—perhaps, with the exception of Lord
ke, it was not so before the time of Lord
rough. We find Lord King speaking of
rt Walpole's consulting him, and so far
in him as to inform him of important
in agitation, with a complacency which
hows that he was very far from considering
atment a matter of course, as with any
or whatever it would assuredly be in our

times. In like manner we can have no doubt that had the office been regarded in the same light at George the Third's accession as it was in the latter part of his reign, so eminent a person as Lord Camden when holding it, a person as known in the political as in the legal world, from his former conduct, next to Lord Chatam the peculiar favourite of the English people, could never have acted the part he did on the great questions of the day, or been the silent, unsupported, and impotent disapprover of the course by his colleagues on those great questions.*

When he had once openly taken his part, there was no faltering or hesitation in his future conduct. During the whole of the proceedings, both before and after the American war broke out, he appeared the steady and powerful champion of the

* It is fit to add, however, that on his retirement important resignations took place. The Dukes of Bedford and Manchester, Lords Granby, Huntingdon, and Cornwallis resigned their household places. James Grenville gave up the office of Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and Dunning of Solicitor-General in this country. The Great Seal, taken from Lord Camden (for, possibly with a view to embolden the government, he did not resign), was pressed by the Duke of Devonshire on Charles Yorke, and reluctantly accepted 17th Jan. 1763. He died suddenly on the 20th, as is supposed by his own hand, and as the Duke of Grafton's papers prove; and Mansfield and Sir Eardley Wilmot (Chief Justice of the Common Pleas) having both refused the Great Seal, it was put in commission for a year, when Mr. Justice Bathurst length accepted it.

ons which were natural to his feelings his habits of thinking. Nor did any childish of lowering the dignity of an Ex-chancellor, or less any mean hankering after royal favour, prevent him from bearing his part in the parliamentary struggle which for twelve years was sustained against the court. He was upon every occasion, as it were, the right arm of Lord Chatham; many of his speeches, even in the meagre remnant of the times, impress us with a high idea of eloquence and of his powers as a debater. His constitutional opinions had, while in the House of Commons, sometimes been pushed to the very verge of moderation even while Attorney-General. Take for example:—In the debate on American taxation, 1766, there was a threat of proceeding against the printer of a report containing his speech, which George Grenville complained of as a breach of privilege. “I will maintain it to my latest hour; liberty and representation are inseparable. This liberty is founded on the laws of nature; it is a law; it is itself an eternal law of nature; for what is a man’s own is absolutely his own; no man has a right to take it from him without his consent, nor expressed by himself or his representative. Whoever attempts to do it attempts an injury; whoever does it commits a robbery; he throws away and destroys the distinction between liberty and slavery.” Here again is his doctrine of parlia-

mentary representation:—"To fix the era when the Commons began is perilous and destructive; to fix it in Edward's or Henry's reign is owing to the idle dreams of some whimsical, ill-judging antiquaries; but this is a point too important to be left to such wrong-headed people. When did the House of Commons begin? When, my Lords? It began with the constitution. There is not a blade of grass growing in the most obscure corner of this kingdom which is not, which was not ever, represented since the constitution began. There is not a blade of grass which when taxed was not taxed by consent of the proprietor."

It may easily be imagined that he was no sooner freed from the trammels of office than a spirit so congenial to that which animated Lord Chatham would burst forth. He accordingly joined him in denouncing as a violent outrage on the constitution the vote of the Commons incapacitating Wilkes from sitting in parliament, because he had been expelled after his election. This celebrated vote, the soundness of which Charles Fox, such is the force of early prejudices, maintained to his dying day, appears to have staggered even Lord Mansfield, who, when Lord Chatham moved an address to the Lords, declaring it unconstitutional, seemed through almost his whole speech to be arguing against it and in favour of the motion. He said; that he should regard himself as the greatest of

ats and of traitors were he to be moved by it
 is judicial capacity, though he added, mys-
 usly, "that he had never given his opinion
 it, and should probably carry it with him to
 grave. But he considered that if the Commons
 passed an unjustifiable resolution, it was a
 er between God and their own consciences;
 that the Lords could not carry up in an address
 ling accusation to the throne, thereby exciting
 ne between the two Houses, not easily allayed."
 t Chatham and Lord Camden held that, all the
 ments of Lord Mansfield being in favour of
 amendment, his vote should have accompanied
 speech; and Lord Camden was so much im-
 nated with his illustrious friend's sentiments,

though he would not quite go so far as to
 aim, "Let discord reign for ever," he yet
 ured "that to the voice of the people he would
 his feeble efforts, and the louder he heard them
 the better should he be pleased."

fter Lord Chatham's death, in 1778, rather
 loss of his great leader than from any infirmity
 ecreasing age, he rarely took a part in debate.
 t the latter was not the cause of his inaction,
 may well suppose from the great excellence of
 eeches which he occasionally delivered. One
 ese must have possessed extraordinary merit,
 on Lord Shelburne's amendment to the address,
 of November, 1781; for it extorted from the

most niggardly dispenser of praise perhaps only panegyric of which he was ever guilty.] Thurlow said, "he never had heard a more discourse within these walls; that the pre were distinct and clear, while the deductions lowed without constraint or false colouring."

thus speaking of the noble Lord's very g abilities," said the eminently dyslogistic C cellor, "I trust he will receive it as my sentiments, not being at any time much disp to travel out of the business before the House the purpose of keeping up the trivial form debate, much less to pay particular personal c pliments to any man."

When the disasters of the American war, r than the attacks of the opposition, had dr Lord North from the helm, Lord Camden bec President of the Council in the Rockingham ministration, and quitted that office when Coalition ministry was formed next year, hav consistently remained in the cabinet of Lord S burne and Mr. Pitt, when the personal and fact violence of the Whigs led them to oppose the pe and finally to overthrow the ministry that mad by a Coalition which ruined the Whig chara and influence for nearly a quarter of a cent . Upon Mr. Pitt triumphantly defeating the C tion, Lord Camden resumed his office, and ke to his death.

Between the close of the American war and the agency in 1788, with the exception of delivering an admirable speech against Mr. Fox's India Bill, and one or two others during the same struggles, he spoke but seldom. But on the King's illness being declared to Parliament, he took the lead in all the proceedings connected with that event, Lord Thurlow being evidently little trusted by Mr. Pitt, who had discovered his intrigues with the opposition and Carlton House. Lord Camden particularly argued, and with great learning and ability, the constitutional questions which arose from time to time during the fierce controversy of that day, and he was perhaps never heard to take greater advantage than in the debate on the King's Apparent's right, and Mr. Fox's incautious

assertion of it, a doctrine which met with its most formidable adversary in the veteran champion of the popular constitution. Nor must it be forgotten that he had now reached his 75th year.

It does not appear that the lapse of four years had either impaired his faculties or extinguished his love of liberty : for he it was who,—a leading member of the Government, in the face of the unanimous opinion of all the Judges, supported by them in the House itself by Lord Thurlow, Lord Kenyon, and Lord Bathurst,—maintained the rights of juries in libel cases by the law of England, and carried through, in spite of a most for-

midable opposition from those law lords, a celebrated measure of Lord Erskine, which commonly, though erroneously, called Mr. Fox's Libel Act.

Nothing can be more refreshing to the love of liberty, or more gratifying to those who venerate the judicial character, than to contemplate the glorious struggle for his long-cherished principle with which Lord Camden's illustrious life closes. The fire of his youth seemed to kindle in the bosom of one touching on fourscore, as he was impelled to destroy the servile and inconsistent doctrines of others, slaves to mere technical lore, but void of the sound and discriminating judgment which mainly constitutes a legal, and above all a judicial mind. On such passages as follow, the mind forms and reverently dwells, thankful that the pedantry of the profession had not been able to ruin so fine an understanding, or freeze so genial a current of feeling,—and hopeful that future lawyers and future judges may emulate the glory and the virtue of this great man.

"It should be imprinted," he said, "on every juror's mind that, if a jury find a verdict of guilty, and leave the criminality to the judge, they would have to answer to God and their conscience for the punishment which by such judge may be inflicted,—be it fine, imprisonment, loss of a whipping, or any other disgrace."—"I will affirm

Camden, "that they have the right of
and that there is no power by the law of
to prevent them from the exercise of
they think fit to maintain it. When
ceased to acquit any defendant, their
stand good until the law of England
changed." "Give, my Lords," he ex-
cuse to the jury or to the judge the
law. You must give it to one or to the
other. I think you can have no difficulty which
Place the press under the power of the
law it ought to be."

On the second stage of the bill, 16th May, 1792,
his most able and energetic address to the
House of Commons which deeply moved all his hearers
he said, how unlikely it was that he
should address them any more. After laying
down as he conceived it certainly to be,
So clear am I of this, that if it were
made law, it should be made so; for in all the
crimes there is not one so fit to be
tried by a jury as libel." "With them leave
me not a doubt that they will always be
sufficient to protect the character of individuals against
slandering, and the government against the
charges of sedition."

Decisions of the judges were overruled, and
the law of purpose made declaratory and not
subject to the opposition of the law lords had

thus been defeated. The Chancellor, as the effort to retain the law in judicial hands, asked Lord Camden would object to a clause being inserted granting a new trial in case the court was dissatisfied with a verdict for the defendant? "What," (exclaimed the veteran friend of freedom) "after a verdict of acquittal?" "Yes," said Lord Thurlow. "No, I thank you," was the memorable reply,—and the last words spoken in public by that great man. The bill immediately was passed.

Two years after, he descended to the grave full of years and honours, the most precious honour which a patriot can enjoy, the unabated gratitude of his countrymen, and the unbroken consciousness of having through good report and evil fame maintained his principles and faithfully discharged his duty.

In the whole of Lord Camden's life there is no passage more remarkable or more edifying than his manly adherence to his own clear and well-considered opinion, in spite of the high professional authority by which it was impugned. There are many professional men who, after having relinquished the contentions of Westminster Hall, have been for a great portion of their lives removed from a close contact with their legal brethren, and are nervous at the idea of exposing themselves to be decried for ignorance or despised for heterodoxy by the frowns of the legal community, adjusted

in authority and example of those set in
 er them. It was the only mark of declin-
 ar which Lord Erskine betrayed, that in
 se of the Queen's case he dreaded to come
 et with the judges, even on some points
 ere is now no reason to doubt were wrongly
 and which he accurately perceived at the
 re erroneously determined.* At a more
 age, Lord Camden retained the full
 f his faculties, so as boldly to announce
 erate opinion; and that it was in no degree
 y any party leaning, or any hunting after
 pplause, will appear manifest from the cir-
 e of the Libel Bill being passed by him in
 er we have just been contemplating during
 vehement period of the controversy upon
 that began with the French Revolution,
 he same year in which the proclamation
 editious writings was issued, and the first
 ons for libel instituted by the government of
 rd Camden was so conspicuous a member.†

xample of misdecision, take the rule laid down,
 stion on cross-examination can be put to a witness,
 to which may refer to a written document, without
 the document and placing it in the witness's
 rebly the test applied whether to his veracity or
 ory is defeated.

ery gratifying to me that I can mention so valuable
 rds improvement in the law of slander and libel
 ned and esteemed friend Lord Campbell has re-

In close connexion with the at remarks passages of Lord Cliven's life, was the cond and in general the h ry of Wilkes. We thus led to speak s w it of that unprincip adventurer, not certainly as having any pl among the Statesmen of the age, but as accidents connected with their history.

The adventures of Wilkes are well known, and general character is no longer any matter of controversy. Indeed, it is only justice towards him remark, that there was so little about him hypocrisy—the “homage due from vice to virtue” being by him paid as reluctantly and as sparingly as any of his other debts—that, even while in

cently succeeded in carrying through Parliament, with entire concurrence of the other law lords. The bill which I brought into the Commons twice, first in 1816 and again in 1830 on the eve of my quitting that house, embraced and also other changes in the law, which I doubt not now soon follow, and I most cheerfully resigned the subject into my colleague's hands. The measure was matured and judiciously under his auspices in a committee of which he presided; and in which, beside their report recommending the bill, a valuable body of evidence and opinion was collected. It must, however, be added, that a great loss to the reform of the law is incurred by leaving out the valuable portion of my former Bills, that which protected political or public libel to the extent of allowing evidence of the truth. The Report of the Criminal Law Commissioners on this question, and on the whole subject, is elaborate and full of interest. Our attempt to extend the act unfortunately failed, and the law of libel is thus left amazingly imperfect.

his popularity, hardly any doubt hung
al habits and dispositions. About liberty,
he cared little, and would willingly have
less, he made a loud and blustering out-
h was only his way of driving a trade :
rity of private life, even to its decencies,
ly made no pretence ; and, during the
e mob's idolatry of his name, there never
y belief in his good character as a man,
much his partisans might be deceived in
on that he was unlikely to sell them.
received a good education—was a fair
cholar—possessed the agreeable manners
d society—married an heiress half as old
himself—obliged her, by his licentious
l profligate society, to live apart from
e an attempt, when in want of money,
rom her the annuity he had allowed for
rt—is recorded in the Term Reports of
of King's Bench* to have been signally
n this nefarious scheme—continued to
with gentlemen of fortune far above his
ed part of his life as a militia colonel—
to the embarrassed circumstances which,
resulting from such habits, led in their
he violent political courses pursued by
rder to relieve his wants. Contempo-

* 452. Easter, 31 Geo. II., Rex v. Mary Mead.

aneous, however, with the commencement of loud-toned patriotism, and his virulent abuse the Court, were his attempts to obtain promotion. One of these was his application to Lord Chat for a seat at the Board of Trade. Soon after failure, he was defeated in his designs upon Embassy at Constantinople, which his zeal for liberties of the English people, and his wish to promote them in the most effectual manner, induced him to desire; and a third time he was frustrated in an attempt to make head against corruptions of the British Court, by repairing as governor to the remote province of Canada. I Bute and his party had some hand in these disappointments; and to running them down his zealous efforts were now directed.

With such a history, both in public and private there was a slender chance of figuring to any good purpose as a patriot; but he took the chance of some of those lucky hits, those windfalls, which occasionally betide that trade, in the lucrative struggle of ill-judged prosecution. He fared forth upon voyage in the well-established line of Libel, he made a more than usually successful venture for he was not only prosecuted and convicted the ordinary way, but a blundering Secretary of State issued, as we have seen, a general warrant to seize his papers—was of course resisted—allowed the matter to come into court—sustained an im

defeat—and was successfully sued for damages by the victorious party. Add to this, his imprisonment for a libel, with his repeated expulsions from the House of Commons, and his finally defeating the opposition, and compelling them to erase the resolutions from their journals—and his merits were so great that not even the awkward concomitant of an conviction for a grossly obscene book, printed clandestinely at a private press, could countervail his political virtues. He became the prime favourite of the mob, and was even admitted by more liberal patriots to have deserved well of the nation, from the courage and skill which he had shown in fighting two severe battles, and gaining two important victories. The promotion which he had in vain sought in the purlieus of the law shall awaited him in the city; he became a rich man; he became Lord Mayor; and, having obtained the lucrative civic office of Chamberlain, which placed him for life in affluent circumstances, he retired, while in the prime of life, from a political warfare, of which he had accomplished all the purposes, by reaping its most valued fruits; he spent the rest of his days in the support of the government; never raised his voice for reform, or for peace, or to mitigate the hostility of our courts towards the country that had afforded him shelter in banishment; nor ever quitted the standard of the country when it marshalled its followers to assault

on the constitution, compared with which all he had ever even invented against Lord Bute into mere insignificance.

That the folly of the government, connected with the excited and sulky temper of the time, finally enabled Wilkes to drive so gainful a trade of patriotism, with so small a provision of the capital generally deemed necessary for embarking in it, there can be little doubt. In any ordinary circumstances, his speculation never could have succeeded. In most of the qualities required for it, he was exceedingly deficient. Though of good manner and even of a winning address, his personal appearance was so revolting as to be hardly compatible with a High birth he could not boast; for his father was a respectable distiller in Clerkenwell. Of fortune he had but a moderate share, and it was all gone before he became a candidate for popular favour, and his circumstances were so notoriously desperate, that he lived for years like a mendicant, dependent on patriotic subscriptions. Those more sterling qualities of strict moral conduct, regular habits, temperate and prudent behaviour, industrious life—qualities which are generally required of public men, even if more superior accomplishments should be dispensed with, he had absolutely nothing of; and the most flagrant violations of decency on moral as well as religious matters were committed, were known, were

and were overlooked by the multitude, in person of their favourite champion, who yet addressed to turn against one of his antagonists a clerical gentleman, some of those feelings which English people in behalf of decorum, all of which his own life was passed in openly outraging. His lighter but very important accomplishments fill so prominent a place in the patriotic orator, great eloquence, and a strong and masculine style in writing, he had but little. His allusions are more pointed than powerful; his passions glow far more than his passions glow; and as he spoke, when he did speak, which was but he showed indeed some address and much of mind, but no force, and produced any effect. Horace Walpole constantly said of him as devoid of all power of speaking. In readiness, an anecdote is preserved which is worth relating. Mr. Luttrell and he were on the Brentford hustings, when he asked Luttrell privately, whether he thought there were fools or rogues among the multitude of people spread out before them. "I'll tell them what you say, and put an end to you," said the orator; but perceiving the threat gave Wilkes no answer, he added, "Surely you don't mean to say you should stand here one hour after I did so?"—The answer was, "*you* would not be alive here after."—"How so?"—"I should

merely say it was a fabrication, and the destroy you in the twinkling of an eye!"

If we are to judge of his speaking by few samples preserved of it, we should ind a very humble estimate of its merits. declamation about rights, and liberties, and and corruption, with hardly the merit of ordinary common-places on these hackney seem to fill up its measure—with neither argument, nor point, nor any thing at all new in the handling of the threadbare But what it wanted in force it probably m fury; and, as calling names is an easy wo the enraged multitude as easily are plea what suits their excited feelings, gratif craving which excitement produces for i mulus. That he failed, and signally faile ever he was called upon to address an which rejects such matter, is very certa Parliament he was seldom or never heard own case had ceased to occupy the public a and nothing can be worse than his addre Court of Common Pleas when he was di The occasion, too, on which he failed wa one, when a victory for constitutional prin been gained perhaps by him—certainly in

* "He has so little quickness, or talent for pu ing, that he would not be heard with patience."—*Sir H. Mann*, ii. 22.)

All the people of London were hanging on the lips of their leader; yet nothing could be more or feebler than his speech, of which the burlesque was a topic as much out of place as possible in a court of justice, where the strict letter of the law alone prevailed, and that topic was verily clogged with miserable inefficiency. "Liberty, lords, liberty has been the object of my life! Liberty"—and so forth. He might about as well have sung a song, or lifted his hat and given three cheers.

In his writings, especially his dedication to Lord Bute of 'Roger Mortimer,' a tragedy, his notes on Warburton, and his ironical criticism on the

author's reprimand to the Printers, we trace much of that power of wit and of humour which he possessed to an extraordinary degree in private society. The last of these three pieces is by far the best, though he himself greatly preferred the first. It must be allowed, however, that neither is it very original; and that both might easily enough have occurred to a diligent reader of Swift, Addison, Arbuthnot, and of Bolingbroke's dedication to Walpole, under the name of D'Anvers—a very superior production in all respects to the dedication to Roger Mortimer.

Of his convivial wit no doubt can remain. Gibbon, who passed an evening with him in 1762, when both were militia officers, says, "I scarcely

ever met with a better companion; he has inexhaustible spirits, infinite wit and humour, and a great deal of knowledge;" he adds, "a thorough profligate in principle as in practice; his life stained with every vice, and his conversation full of blasphemy and indecency; these morals he glories in; for shame is a weakness he has long since surmounted." This, no doubt, is greatly exaggerated, and the historian, believing him really to confess his political profligacy, is perhaps in error also,—“He told us that in this time of public dissension he was resolved to make his fortune." Possibly this was little more than a variety of his well-known saying to some one who was fawning on him with extreme doctrines—"I hope you don't take me for a Wilkite."

Of his wit and drollery some passages are preserved in society; but of these not many can with propriety be cited. We doubt if his retort to Lord Sandwich be of this description, when being asked, coarsely enough, "Whether he thought he should die by a halter or by a certain disease?" he quickly said, "That depends on whether I embrace your Lordship's principles or your mistress." We give this in order to contradict the French anecdote, which ascribes the *mot* to Mirabeau as a retort to Cardinal Maury, while sitting by him in the National Assembly. I heard it myself from the Duke of Norfolk, who was present when the

book place, many years before the French
1. His exclamation, powerfully humorous
on Lord Thurlow's solemn hypocrisy in
of Lords, is well known. When that
te piece of cant was performed with all
ity which the actor's incredible air, eye-
ce, could lend the imprecation, "If I
sovereign, may my God forget me!"—
ated on the steps of the throne, eyeing
e with his inhuman squint and demoniac
ered, "Forget you! He'll see you
st."

lity remains to be added, but that a
und for a demagogue essential. He was
us man. Neither politically nor per-
he know what fear was. Into no risks
ty did he ever hesitate to rush. From
individually was he ever known to
he meeting which he gave Secretary
d which nearly cost him his life, was
unnecessary; he might easily have
and when a wild young Scotch officer,
bes, asked satisfaction for something said
country, he met no refusal of his absurd
ut was ordered on a distant service before
epair to Flanders, whither Wilkes went
a, after the Mareschal's Court of France
cted a meeting in that country.

Some of the other honourable feelings which usually found in company with bravery seem generally to have belonged to him. He was a man apparently, of his word. In his necessities, though he submitted to eleemosynary aid for pecuniary supplies, and maltreated his wife to relieve embarrassments, he yet had virtue enough to avoid the many disreputable expedients which have in the condition of the needy be compared to the possibility of keeping an empty sack upright. His worst offence, and that which brings his honour into greatest discredit, is certainly the playing game in political virtue, or driving a commerce patriotism, which the reader of his story is constantly struck with; and in no instance does it appear more plainly than in such attempts at pandering to the passions of the people, as his addressing a canting letter to the Lord Mayor, when refused, as Sheriff of London, to attend the procession to St. Paul's on the occasion of the King's accession. He grounds his refusal on the preference he gives to "the real administration of justice, and his unwillingness to celebrate the accession of a prince under whose inauspicious reign the Constitution has been grossly and deliberately violated. That this was a measure to catch mob applause proved by his sending a draft of his epistle to Junius for his opinion, and in his note, inclosed

he calls the proceeding a "manœuvre." *
(ALL's *Junius*, i. 324.)

welt longer upon this celebrated, rather
noted, person than may seem to be in
or keeping with a representation of the
high he figures; because it is wholesome

ing the polished manners of Wilkes, and that he
sh in good society, somewhat in the best, it is un-
admit that his turn of mind was not in some sort
ess his letters to Junius throughout—particu-
ers wherein he describes Junius's private com-
o him as "*stirring up his spirits like a kiss from*
sks the "great unknown" to accept of—what?
nable MSS.? Interesting information? No
to the Lord Mayor's dinner—crowded dinner
dy Mayoress's far less tolerable ball, with a hint
Junia, if there be one."—WOODFALL, i. 325.

317, I stated my strong opinion in the House of

Wilkes's character, and the shame that his
ought on the people of England for a time, Mr.
expressed his thanks to me, and confirmed my
Mr. Canning, however, observed that Wilkes
means a singular instance of demagogues not
able, and added,

night o' th' shire, and represents them all,"

aggerated view certainly. Sir Philip Francis,
after, remonstrated strongly with me, in the
ther friends, for saying anything in disparage-
in run down by the Court. He regarded the
atly aggravated by the praise which had been

Mansfield, against whom he inveighed bitterly.
is obijurgation, so precisely that of Junius upon
was much remarked at the time.

to contemplate the nature, and reflect upon fate, of one beyond all others of his day the idol of the mob, the popular favourite; one who, by the force of their applause, kept so far a footing in the better part of society as to be very little blamed, very cautiously abjured, by those most filled with disgust and with detestation of his practices. This is an addition to the chapter on the subject, already suggested by the French revolution. The members of the Parliament, the members of the popular party, perhaps the single exception of Lord Chatam, while they would have viewed with utter scorn the approaches he might make to their intimacy, nevertheless were too much afraid of losing the countenance of the multitude he ruled over to express their strongly entertained sentiments of his great demerits. They might not so far distinguish themselves as to truckle in their measures; never certainly courted him by extending patronage to himself or his accomplices; but were under the powerful influence of intimidation and were content to pass for his fellow-labourers in the Whig vineyard, and to suppress the feelings which his conduct in public and private life excited in them, rather than encounter his vengeance. How base does such conduct now appear, and how noble is the contrast of Lord Chatham's manly deportment in the eyes of impartial posterity!

at the fall, the rapid and total declension, of
 es's fame—the utter oblivion into which his
 name has passed for all purposes save the
 mbrance of his vices—the very ruins of his
 ation no longer existing in our political history
 s affords also a salutary lesson to the followers
 e multitude,—those who may court the ap-
 e of the hour, and regulate their conduct
 rds the people, not by their own sound and
 ientious opinions of what is right, but by the
 e to gain fame in doing what is pleasing,
 to avoid giving the displeasure that arises
 telling wholesome though unpalatable truths.
 r man more pandered to the appetites of the
 than Wilkes; never political pimp gave more
 rna contentment to his employers. Having

**moral and sturdy English, and not the voluble
 versatile Irish, to deal with, he durst not do or
 as he chose himself; but was compelled to
 w that he might seem to lead; or at least to
 wo steps with his followers that he might get
 to go three with him. He dared not deceive
 grossly, clumsily, openly, impudently—dared
 all them opposite stories in the same breath—
 them one advice to-day and the contrary to-
 ow—pledge himself to a dozen things at one
 he same time; then come before them with
 one pledge unredcemed, and ask their voices,
 ask their money too, on the credit of as many**

more pledges tendered for the succeeding year—all this with the obstinate and jealous pe of England was out of the question ; it could have passed for six weeks. But he committed great, if not as gross, frauds upon them ; ab their confidence as entirely, if not so shameful catered for their depraved appetites in all the dainties of sedition, and slander, and though violence, and unreasonable demands ; instead using his influence to guide their judgment, prove their taste, reclaim them from bad cou and better their condition by providing for t instruction. The means by which he retained t attachment were disgraceful and vile. Like hypocrite, his whole public life was a lie. tribute which his unruly appetites kept him f paying to private morals, his dread of the n or his desire to use them for his selfish p poses, made him yield to public virtue ; and never appeared before the world without the n of patriotic enthusiasm or democratic fury—who in the recesses of Medmenham Abbey, before many witnesses, gave the Eucharist to ape, or prostituted the printing-press to mult copies of a production that would dye with blue the cheek of an impure.

It is the abuse, no doubt, of such popular cour that we should reprobate. Popularity is far f being contemptible ; it is often an honour

; when duly earned, always a test of
or evil resisted. But to be of a pure
ne kind it must have one stamp—the
f one safe and certain die; it must be
rity that follows good actions, not that
run after. Nor can we do a greater
the people themselves, or read a more
lesson to the race, above all, of rising
than to mark how much the mock-
mob-seeker, the parasite of the giddy
falls into the very worst faults for which
en are wont the most loudly to condemn,
heartily to despise, the courtly fawners
es. Flattery, indeed! obsequiousness!
g! What courtier of them all ever
pains to soothe an irritable or to please
as prince than Wilkes to assuage the
ain the favour by humouring the pre-
the mob? Falsehood, truly! intrigue!
! Where did ever titled suitor for pro-
his plots more cunningly, or spread
his net, or plant more pensively in the
rons by which the waiters upon royal
ge to themselves and to their country
t they may also fashion the ladder they
unt by, than the patriot of the city did
he multitude, whose slave he made him-
he might be rewarded with their sweet
so rise to wealth and to power? When

he penned the letter of cant about administering justice, rather than join in a procession to honour the accession of a prince whom in a private petition he covered over thick and threefold with the *alms* of his flattery, he called it himself a "*manceuvre*." When he delivered a rant about liberty before the reverend judges of the land—the speaking law of the land—he knew full well that he was not delighting those he addressed, but the mob out of doors, on whose ears the trash was to be echoed back. When he spoke a speech in Parliament of which no one heard a word, and said aside to a friend who urged the fruitlessness of the attempt at making the House listen—"Speak it I must, for it has been printed in the newspapers this half hour"—he confessed that he was acting a *false* part in one place to compass a real object in another ;—as thoroughly as ever minister did when he affected by smiles to be well in his prince's good graces before the multitude, all the while knowing that he was receiving a royal rebuke. When he and one confederate in the private room of a tavern issued a declaration, beginning, "We, the people of England," and signed "by order of the meeting,"—he practised as gross a fraud upon that people as ever peer or parasite did, while affecting to pine for the prince's smiles, and to be devoted to his pleasure, in all the life they led consecrated to the furtherance of their own. It is no obj^t of mine

exalt courtly arts, or undervalue popular courses ; wish have I to over-estimate the claims of aristocracy at the cost of lowering the people. Both departments of our mixed social structure demand equally our regard ; but let the claims of both be set on their proper footing. We may say, and may sincerely say, with Cicero—" Omnes boni semper nobilitati favemus, et quia utile est reipublicæ boni homines esse dignos majoribus suis ; et quia let, apud nos, clarorum hominum et bene de publica meritorum memoria, etiam mortuorum."* (*Pro Sext.*) These are the uses and these the merits of the aristocratic branch of our system ; while the mean arts of the courtier only degrade the patrician character. But mean as they are, their vileness does not exceed that of the like arts practised towards the multitude ; nor is the Sovereign Prince whose ear the flatterers essay to please that they may deceive him for their own purposes, more entirely injured by the deception which withholds the truth, than the Sovereign people is betrayed and undone by those who, for their own vile ends, pass their lives in suppressing wholesome truth and propagating popular delusion.

* All good men ever favour nobility, both because it is the common weal that nobles should be worthy of their stations, and because we cherish the memory even after their death of great men who have deserved well of the country.

tation surrounded with the respect due to the representatives of a great people. They speak of our viz: the country reproaches us with weakness.

Page 86.

It was a cause decided, but not tried.

Ibid.

Once more, President of Assassins, wilt thou he

Page 98.

My name is Danton ; my residence will soon be
nihilation ; my name will live in the Pantheon of I

Ibid.

Oh my well-beloved ! must I quit thee ?—Dan
weakness ! Lead on !

Page 110.

The companion of peace, the ally of ease, etc
is the child of a government already well settled.

Page 113.

Hold your peace, killer of oxen !

Ibid.

Why, I have killed some that had more sense than

Ibid.

Decree that he be put—

Decree that I am an ox, and thou mayest but
thyself.

Page 143.

In short, I am no longer able to speak, nor
hold my tongue.

END OF VOL. V.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES
OF
STATESMEN
WHO FLOURISHED IN
THE TIME OF GEORGE III.
THIRD SERIES.

VOLUME II.

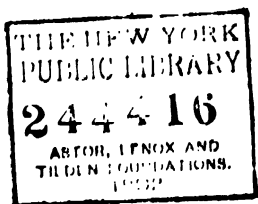
BY

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ACADEMY OF NAPLES.

A NEW EDITION, CORRECTED BY THE AUTHOR.

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STATESMEN
OF THE
TIME OF GEORGE III.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

It would not be easy to find a greater contrast between two individuals filling places of the same rank than the great judge whose character we have just been contemplating afforded to one of the most eminent that have flourished in later times, Lord Ellenborough. In some respects, indeed, he presented a contrast to all other judges; for he broke through most of the conventional trammels which high functionaries generally impose upon themselves, or fancy that others expect to be-

Far from abounding in that cautious circumspection, that close adherence to technical niceties, that restraint of his mind to the mere letter in hand, he despised even much of what is called the form of ordinary discretion; and is so much animated by inferior natures as the essence of wisdom, but so justly valued by calculating ones

as the guarantee of success. Of compromise whether regarding his opinions or his wishes, he knew not the meaning; of fear, in any of its various and extensive provinces, he knew not even the name; or, if he saw its form, yet he denied it title, held its style in mockery, and would not even for an instant, acknowledge its sway. Far indeed, from cradling himself within the details of a subject, he was wholly averse to such narrow views of particulars; and took a large and commanding survey of the whole, which laid open before him all its parts and all their relations. Bred a pleader, he, however, on coming to the bar, early showed that he only retained the needful technical knowledge which this preparatory practice had bestowed on him; and he at once dashed into the leading branch of the profession. The famous case of Mr. Hastings—the opprobrium of English justice, and, through mismanagement and party violence, the destruction of the greatest remedy afforded by our constitution—soon opened to Mr. Law the highest walks of the bar. He was the defendant's leading counsel; and his talents, both as a lawyer and a speaker, shone forth conspicuously even upon that great occasion of oratorical display—the only fruits produced by this proceeding, so costly to the country, so much more costly still to the free constitution of England. He soon rose to the unrivalled lead of the Northern Circuit, to

which, by birth, he belonged ; his father having been Bishop of Carlisle, and himself born at the village of Salkeld,* in Cumberland. In Westminster Hall he had also good success, though he never rose there into the first lead ; having indeed to contend with most able rivals, and among them with Erskine, the greatest advocate of all. Lord Kenyon, whose favour for this illustrious ornament of his court I have already had occasion to remark, was felt, or was supposed by Mr. Law, to be partial more than became him to this formidable antagonist ; and a quotation to which this feeling gave rise is often cited, and with justice, as singularly happy. Mr. Erskine had been, somewhat more than was his practice with any adversary, triumphing over him, when Mr. Law, first addressing him and then Lord Kenyon, thundered forth these fine, and expressive, and perfectly applicable lines, with the volume of tone which he possessed beyond most men—

—Non me tua fervida terrent
Dieta ferox ; Di me terrent et Jupiter hostis.

Here he bowed sarcastically to the Chief Justice, while he dwelt and paused upon the name of the heavenly archetype.

* This village is now remarkable as the residence of Mr. Gaskin, a man of the most sterling merit as an astronomer and maker of exquisite telescopes ; father of Dr. Gaskin, late tutor of Jesus College, Cambridge, so well known for his mathematical accomplishments.

As a lawyer, without being very profound, confining his learning to the ordinary matters of common law, he yet knew quite enough for ordinary occasions; and afterwards, as generally happens with able men, greatly extended his information when raised to the bench. As an advocate he was vigorous, impressive, adventurous; more daring than skilful; often, from his boldness, not a leader; always despising the slow progress, the direct avenues to victory, which the rules of law prescribe;—always preferring to vault over obstacles, follow the shortest line, and cut the knot rather than waste time in untying it. But he could powerfully address the feelings, whether to rouse indignation at cruelty, or contempt at fraud or scorn at meanness. For his own nature was nothing harsh in it, except his irascible temper, which was quickly roused, as quickly appeased; his nature was just, abhorring any deviation from equity. His nature was noble, holding in utter contempt everything low or base; his spirit was open, magnanimous, honest, and ever moved with disgust at anything false or tricky; his courage was high, leaving him more scorn than compassion for nerves less strong than his own. Nor was it only the thunder of fierce declamation—very effectual, though somewhat clumsy, and occasionally coarse—with which he could prevail against an adversary, and manage an audience. He had no mean power of ridic

playful as a mind more strong than refined could make it; while of sarcasm he was an eminent professor, but of the kind which hacks, and tears, and maims its victims, rather than destroys by cutting only. His vigorous understanding, holding no fellowship with anything that was petty or paltry, naturally saw the contemptible or inconsistent, and therefore, in this wise, ludicrous aspect of things; did he apply any restraint on this propensity of his nature when he came into stations where it would less freely be indulged. His interrogative exclamation in Lord Melville's case, when the attorney's ignorance of having taken accommodation of the public fund was alleged—indeed, was

remembered—may be remembered as very picturesque, though perhaps more pungent than dignified. "Did he not know money? Did he see it when it glittered? Did he hear it when it chinked?" On the bench he had the very well known, but not very eloquent Henry Hunt before him, who, in mitigation of an expected sentence, spoke of some of his "complained of his dangerous eloquence."—"They do you great injustice, sir," said the congregate and merciful Chief Justice, kindly wanting to relieve him from all anxiety on this charge. "Before he had been listening to two conveyancers for a whole day of a long and most technical argument in silence, and with a wholesome fear, strengthening it by any interruption whatever."

of them in reply to a remark from another judge said, "If it is the pleasure of your lordships that should go into that matter"—"We, sir," said Chief Justice, "have no pleasure in it any way." When a favourite special pleader was making an excursion, somewhat unexpected by his hearers as unwonted in him, into a pathetic topic—"We, sir, rather getting now into the high sentimental latitudes?"

It was observed with some justice, that his peculiar manner, occasionally, with his manner, reminded me of Johnson. When meeting the defence of an advocate for a libel on the Prince Regent, that it had been provoked by the gross, and fulsome, and flattery of some corrupt panegyrist—"What," he, "an offence against the law of the land provoked by an offence against the laws of taste! The frail is the tenure by which men hold their reputation, if it may be worn down and compromised away between the mischievous flattery of fulsome praise and the open enmity of malignant abuse. But it was observed with much less correctness that his sarcasms derived adventitious force from his Cumberland dialect. From his manner and voice, both powerful, both eminently characteristic, they assuredly did derive a considerable and legitimate accession of effect. But his dialect was of little or no avail; indeed, except in the pronouncing of a few words, his solecisms were

able. It was a great mistake to suppose such pronunciations as Marchant, Hartford, provincial; they are old English, and came in a time when the spelling was as I have now in the words. He was of those, too, who said "run" and "Brummagem;" but this, too, is old old English dialect, and was always used by Perceval, who never crossed the Trent twice a year going the Midland Circuit. Fox, a lover of the Saxon dialect, in like manner, always so spoke; and preferred Cales, Leer, and Groyne, to Cadiz, Shire, and so on.

When his powerful mind was brought to bear on any question that came before him, whether alone at *Nisi Prius*, or with his brethren, the impression which he made upon it was immediate, sure, and deep. Sometimes it effected the modification of the whole court resolution what he had done alone; sometimes the position of his fellows sitting with him; but his was always great, and no man doubted his energy or could avoid feeling the weight of his

Books are perhaps not the only quarters where we should resort to find the memorials of a Judge's learning or talents for transacting judicial business. All that relates to sittings and so on—that is, nearly two-thirds of his judicial

labours, and by far the most important portion of them—leaves no trace whatever in these valuable Repertories of legal learning. Yet the Term Reports bear ample testimony to the vigour of this eminent individual's capacity, during the eighteen years that he filled the first place among the English Common Law judges.

His manner has been already mentioned in one particular. It was much more faulty in another. He was somewhat irascible, and occasionally even violent. But no one could accuse him of the least partiality ; his honest and manly nature ever disdained as much to trample overbearingly on the humble, as to crouch meanly before the powerful. He was sometimes impatient ; and, as his mind was rather strong than nimble, he often betrayed hastiness of conclusion more than he displayed quickness of apprehension. This slowness was shown by his actually writing his speeches for many years after he was a leader ; and, to the end of his professional life, he would occasionally commit to paper portions even of his intended reply to the Jury. It was a consequence of this power of his understanding, and of his uniform preference of the plain, sound, common-sense views which vigorous minds prefer, that refinements or subtleties were almost as little to his liking, as to the taste of his more cold and cautious successor. But he was not so much disturbed with them. They gave him little vexation.

ther contributed to his mirth, or furnished for his sarcastic commentary. "It was re—" said he, respecting a somewhat refined wit a new gloss of Mr. Scarlett upon a well-matter—"It was reserved for the ingenuity of the fiftieth of Geo. III. [he was speaking in the 10] to hit upon this crotchet."

Give any samples of this eminent person's eloquence when at the bar would not be very easy, for in his time the practice had not been prevailed of publishing corrected reports of the trials; and till the speeches of Mr. Erskine and Lord Erskine were collected in very times, no such works had ever been given to the public, at least in this country. But I

have been so fortunate as to obtain the short-handled notes of Mr. Law's celebrated Defence of the King; and a careful perusal of it has fully convinced me that its merits fully answer its reputation, and that his great forensic powers have not been underrated by the general opinion of Westminster Hall. There is a lucid order in the statement of the details, struggling as he did with the vast and repulsive materials of his subject, and a manly vigour in the argument, far more adapted to his cause than any rhetorical display. There is also much of the purest and most elegant eloquence. The topics and the illustrations are felicitously chosen; the occasional figures

STATESMEN OF TIME OF GEORGE III.

a chastely but luminously introduced ; the action pure and nervous, marked by the love of strong and homely phrase which ever breathed in his discourse ; the finer passages have rarely been surpassed by any effort of forensic power, and must have produced a great effect under all the disadvantages of an exhausted auditory and a worn-out controversy, and would have ranked with the most successful exhibitions of the oratorical art had they been delivered in the early stage of the trial, before all had become, for the reasons so skilfully stated in the exordium, flat and lifeless. The following two passages will serve to justify my opinion. The first is a portion of the beautifully and skilfully elaborated exordium ; the second is a part of the peroration, and may fairly be set in comparison with Mr. Burke's celebrated panegyric on Mr. Fox :—

“To a taste thus pampered, and I had almost said corrupted, with such luscious delicacies, have nothing left that we can offer but the plain and simple food, I had almost said the dry bones of fact and argument.

“But, my lords, we have, on another account, reason to anticipate the dissatisfaction and censure of your lordships. Not only the manner in which this subject will be treated must be more than that to which you have been hitherto accustomed, but the subject itself and every a

ice has lost the attractive grace and
h of novelty. This solemn scene, the
ed splendour of everything that is dig-
illustrious in the various orders of this
acted community,—the dazzling display
ied and valuable distinctions with which
1 of our country has at all times adorned
1, eminent virtue, brilliant valour, pro-
rning,—everything, in short, which is
nd sacred in the display of the supreme
tion of British justice,—has, by the
of its exhibition, lost much of that claim
ttention and warm interest which it once
much of that favour which it lent to
forts of those whose great faculties little
h adventitious aid to arrest the attention
ld.

nds, the province which our duty assigns
other accounts, equally irksome and dis-
ous. To detect brilliant fallacies, to
icious errors, is at all times a thankless,
and uninteresting office. To dispel the
misrepresentation which have been for
ears gathering over the public life and
f the gentleman at your bar within that
portion of time which the public
and, what at our hands is equally deserv-
nsideration, the tortured and almost ex-
tience of our client, will allow us, is

hardly within the compass of the same talent which have imposed this burden on us, but beyond the reach of all reasonable hope with those mean faculties on which this Herculean labour rests. Struggling, therefore, against so many natural and so many artificial difficulties, enhanced by the inevitable effect at once of anticipation and of fatigue, where can the advocate look for comfort or from whence derive any reasonable source of hope?"

The following is taken from the peroration:—

"My lords, I last of all present you with the praise which shall embalm his memory when he shall be no more, and whilst he lives shall enable him to look down with indifference and with scorn upon the most malignant efforts of his bitterest enemies. The people of India in this respect well adopted the practice of the ancients in delaying their sacrifices to heroes till after sunset. They waited not only till the beams which had warmed and cherished them were withdrawn, but they waited till the object of their regard had well nigh set in dark clouds of disastrous night: they waited till it was told, to the grief and astonishment of their distant land, that the beneficent author of so much good to them was arraigned by his countrymen as the cause of their oppression, vexation, degradation, and disgrace. Roused by these sad tidings, the rude but grateful

who had been called by Mr. Hastings from
 is and forests of Rajawaum to abandon the
 of savage life and to taste the comforts of
 ed existence,—the pilgrim who had been
 ted in his annual visits to the hallowed shrine
 his forefathers had worshipped,—the princes
 ad been raised up, established, and protected
 i power,—the humble citizen to whom he
 ommunicated the invaluable blessings of a
 r administration of impartial and enlightened
 ,—each as he was severally blessed, and
 according to his several ritual, invoked the
 object of his faith and fear in solemn attest-
 of his thankfulness for that beneficent ad-

ration which, under the providence of our
 on Father, had been the appointed means of
 ig down so many blessings on their heads."

is not possible to quit this subject without
 more expressing the sense now generally
 dined by all impartial men of the gross and
 injustice which marked the whole conduct
 is celebrated impeachment. A powerful

powerful in the Commons, the accusers,
 as among the Peers, the judges, made the
 ction of an eminent public servant, admitted
 hands to have conferred the greatest benefits
 country, and crowned with unvaried approval
 employers, the object of their utmost efforts,

it up distinctly as a party question. It

would have been enough to stamp the proceed with the character of foul injustice had only accusers been bound together, excited and asperated by this factious spirit; because accuser who prefers criminal charges is bound act with fairness and with candour towards object of his attack, and to show that he is o actuated by a painful sense of public duty.] how much more foul a stain attaches to i mockery of British justice, when we find judges themselves leagued on either side by same factious propensities, so that each man's v could as certainly be known before the close the trial, nay before its commencement, as al he had solemnly laid his hand on his heart : pronounced judgment "upon his honour;" t the victim of these party manœuvres was kept the suspense of a culprit upon his trial for sev years; that he was during that time the object incessant vituperation, either from the party chi in the Commons, or the party managers before t Lords, or the party writers in the press, or t party spouters at public meetings, and more co monly from all at once, assaulting his devot character; that all this invective was poured fo against him for many years before one word co be heard in his defence, while half a generati passed away under the horror of his name, whi such proceedings were calculated to inspire; that

e, his moderate fortune, should have been
 ted with his health, his spirits, his life, or
 ver of these a long service under the eastern
 d left unscathed; and that finally, when men
 rgotten all but the eloquence of his adver-
 and would not listen to another word on
 side of the tedious question, he should in his
 e be pronounced wholly guiltless and honour-
 acquitted, being ruined as if he had been
 nned—these are the outrages upon all justice
 this scandalous mockery of a trial presents!
 also exhibits another result of blind factious
 nd boundless personal vanity, not unalloyed
 fanaticism. Owing to this proceeding it is
 he appointed remedy for misgovernment in
 onstitution—the impeachment of public
 doers—has become so discredited, that it
 in little more than in the theory of the
 ament; while, but for Lord Erskine's firm
 adicious conduct of Lord Melville's case, it
 hardly have been now mentioned even
 g the speculative possibilities of our political
 1.

e chief defect of Lord Ellenborough's judicial
 cter, not unconnected with the hastiness of
 mper, also bore some relation to the vigour
 understanding, which made him somewhat
 nptuous of weaker men, and somewhat
 eening in reliance upon himself. He was

not as patient and passive as a judge ought habitually to be. He was apt to overlook suggestions, which, though valuable, might be more feebly urged than suited his palate. He was fond of taking the case prematurely into his own hands. He despatched business with great celerity, and, for the most part, with success. But causes were not sifted before him with that closeness of scrutiny, and parties were not suffered to bring forward all they had to state with that fulness and freedom, which alone can prevent misdecision, and ensure the due administration of justice. There was a common saying in his time, which contrasts the Court of Chancery under Lord Eldon with the King's Bench under Lord Ellenborough—"the two sides of Westminster Hall," as the Equity and Law departments are technically called. The one was said to hear everything and decide nothing, the other to decide everything and hear nothing. But in Banc, where full time has been given for preparation, where the court never can be taken by surprise, where, moreover, the assistance of three puisne judges is ever at hand to remedy the chief defects and control his impatience, this hasty disposition and warm temperament was comparatively harmless, and seldom produced mischievous effects to the suitor. At *Nisi Prius* it is far otherwise; for there a false step is easily made, and it may not be easily retraced. If the

lge's power have prevented a moderately experienced practitioner from taking an objection in time, or from urging it with sufficient distinctness, his client may often be told that he is late, when he seeks to be relieved against the consequences of this mishap. So when a verdict has been obtained against the justice of the case, and the judge, through the impatience of his nature, has not disapproved it, the injury is remediless, because a new trial will in most instances be refused, if granted, can only be obtained on the payment of all costs. There can be no manner of doubt, to apprehend, that taking into the account the defect now mentioned, Lord Tenterden was upon the whole a better judge than his abler and more vigorous predecessor. But it is also clear that he did not as promptly despatch the business of his sittings before him.

The state, however, of the bar, and the distribution of business in Lord Ellenborough's time, made it much easier for him to give that patch. Had he survived to later times, it may well be questioned if he could have proceeded with the same celerity which marked his reign. The courts as well as the bar were no longer the same, with whose interests and with whose advocacy he had to deal. In his time, the whole City business was in the hands of Gibbs, Garrow, and Park; with occasionally, as in the cases of the

Baltic risks, the intervention of Topping; was a main object with them all to facilitate despatch of business. This they effected once giving up all but the arguable point on which they immediately took the judgment and the maintainable questions of fact they went to the jury. Fifteen important causes were thus disposed of more to the satisfaction of the court than of the counsel than to the content of the parties or their attorneys. It is true loss was, in the vast majority of instances by any one through this kind of arrangement the time of the public was saved. It is true that every now and then a slight benefit lost; and that nothing escapes such accidents but the right course is sifting each case, as if it were the

* The mention of this most honourable with those cases, recalls an incident so and to the renowned profession to which ought not to be passed over in silence of a thousand guineas was brought Baltic cases then in progress. His

did not feel either a doubt of his doing

own in the profession (once

retainer; or

us retained, de

he me

of

advocate was retained, or which the judge had
ry. Nor must it be forgotten, that the right
ision of causes is only one, though certainly
most important, office of justice. Another,
y second in importance to that, is the giving
rties satisfaction,—such satisfaction as is enough
reasonable persons. Now, as every person is
pressed with the idea that there is but one cause
the world, and that one his own, however unmin-
d of this the court and the counsel may be, discon-
nt, heart-burnings, feelings of injustice suffered,
sire of redress in other ways, and among these,
fentimes by means of other suits, is sure to be
ft in the train of Themis, when the pace she
oves at is too rapid for ordinary eyes to follow,
d breaks too rudely through the surrounding
s and feelings of interest. Hence, the despatch
ected is frequently more apparent (or what
rd Bacon calls *affected*) than real; of which
remarkable example used to be afforded by
e John Leach, whose swift decisions, without
aring, only produced appeals to the Great Seal.
t in whatever way these opinions may be disposed
one thing was certain;—the kind of arrangement
hich has been described as prevailing among the
ders in Lord Ellenborough's time could only
found practicable as long as the lead should be
nined within a very few hands. When it was
all scattered, such a thing was altogether out of

the question; and in Lord Tenterden's time distribution undeniably took place.

But another change was also consummated which, under Lord Tenterden's predecessor, had only begun to operate, and it tended materially both to control the speed of the bench, to promote the interest of the suitor, and to improve the ministration of justice. The bar no longer owned so entire a supremacy of the bench; the advocate was not any more placed at an immeasurable distance from the judge; there was not now that impassable gulf between them which formerly had yawned before the barrister's eye. I remember being told by a learned sergeant, that at the time of Sergeants'-inn, where the judges meet their brethren of the coif to dine, the etiquette was those days, never to say a word after the Chief Justice, nor ever to begin any topic of conversation; he was treated with fully more than the obsequious deference shown at court to the sovereign himself. Assuredly, the footing upon which judges and barristers have stood in recent times is as different from what can well be conceived from that on which the high parties stood under Lord Ellenborough's administration of justice; and one consequence of the new regimen is the much greater fulness of discussion, with its attendant evil, no doubt, much greater prolixity of counsel, and much slower progress of business.

other particular Lord Ellenborough differed from his successor, and the diversity originated in the greater vigour of his faculties and his more confidence in himself. Lord Tenterden, having been a leader at the bar, could not be the "trick" of the profession, and no harm would have been done had he stopped here. But we should always to suppose that an address to a jury should be framed on the model of a special verdict, the counts in a declaration, only without redundancy and repetition habitual with pleaders: to forget that the surest way of bringing out the truth in any case is to let the conflicting claims and interests of parties come into their

collision. His impatience was thus very great; and had his nerves been in the same condition as firm as his dislike to declamation and declamation was strong, a struggle would have taken place in which the eloquence of the bar would have been extinguished, or have silenced the Bench. In like manner, during interlocutory discussions with the counsel, on motions in Banc, or on objections before him at *Nisi Prius*, he was uneasy, impatient, and indeed irascible, at nothing so much as the delay put by way of trying what the court would say. Being wholly void of imagination, he was slow in cases in reply, and even without much delay to sift the application of those put, he

often lost his temper, and always treated the t as an offence. But it was chiefly in obstruct cross-examination, which he wholly underval from his utter incapability of performing his in it, that his pleader-like habits broke out. I he been submitted to in this matter, cross-exam tion would have been only known as a matter legal history. His constant course was to the counsel, by reminding him that the wit had already said so, or had already sworn the c trary, and this before the question was answer to which it was natural, and indeed became us for the counsel to make answer, that this was very reason why the question had been asked; object being either to try the witness's memo or to test his honesty.

Very far otherwise was Lord Ellenborou He had long and ably led while an advoc although he never attained the first rank in W minster Hall, and only shone superior on Great Circuit of the North. He had therefor fellow-feeling with the leaders before him; as for any dread of their address to the jury, any jealousy of the jury's interference with functions, or any squeamish notion of his c dignity suffering from the speech to the j going on before him, or any disinclination witness the utmost exertion of the advocate's quence or wit in speaking, or of his subtlety

in cross-examination, there was no more than if he had not been present in the when an objection was taken to evidence, attempted to escape from it by denying dity of the fact offered to be proved, question attempted to be put. He at his opinion, to which, and justly, he e parties entitled. Beyond interfering a prolix and needless statement, or, a and reiterative cross-examination, or a from what he deemed the point in issue, interfere; and the same liberty and e which he had himself enjoyed when h witnesses, he freely allowed counsel s presence.

representing this contrast between the Justices, we must, in fairness to Lord bear in mind the somewhat anomalous a judge while presiding at *Nisi Prius*; the annoyance of which so vigorous a s Lord Ellenborough had no occasion rong in his own resources, relying on e qualities, seeking no support to his n any adventitious circumstances, dread- al authority to lower it. But inferior not so easily bear that rivalry. The ed, presides over the whole proceed- the jury holds *divisum imperium*; and are as the nominal chief while the

advocate is sometimes dealing with the witness as if no judge were present, and sometimes addressing the jury, careless whether the judge hears him or not, equally indifferent whether his lordship approves or disapproves what he says. Princes, it is said, cannot allow any one to address another in their awful presence; nay, the code of etiquette has embodied this feeling of sensitive royalty in a rule or maxim. The ruler of the court has as little love of a proceeding which, in the prefatory words, "May it please your lordship," seems to recognise his supremacy; but in the next breath leaves "his lordship" on the bench entirely out of view, as if he were reposing on his bed, or gathered to his father. Few judges, accordingly, are so considerate as to be patient of eloquence, whether in declamation or in witty illustration; few regard these flights otherwise than as in derogation from the respect which is their own especial due. To address passions which they are forbidden to feel—to contemplate topics that must be suited to any palate rather than theirs—to issue jokes by which they ought not to be moved, while all others are convulsed—seems incompatible with their station as the presiding power, or a violation of that respect which it ought to inspire. Lord Tenterden, more than most judges, appeared to feel this; and it was a feeling wholly founded in forgetfulness of the very nature of jury trial, as it was unworthy

solid sense and great sagacity. In the dis-
n of criminal justice the case is widely
t. The anxiety necessarily attendant upon
ge's highly responsible office here leads him
t all help from the ingenuity of counsel.
addressing the jury was allowed in cases of
the chances of collision were of course
mitted ; but even now nothing of the uneasy
to which I have been adverting has been
o take place since the recent change of the
e in criminal courts.

is political opinions, Lord Ellenborough
ginally, like the rest of his family, a mo-
Whig. But he never mingled in the as-
ns or proceedings of party ; and held an
dent course, with, however, considerable
nation, at all times, to the policy and the
of Mr. Pitt. He joined Mr. Addington's
stration as Attorney-General, and came into
ent, where he did not distinguish himself.
enyon's death soon after made way for him
bench ; and he was, at the same time, raised
peerage. The quarrel between that admi-
on and Mr. Pitt did not reconcile him to
ister ; and against Lord Melville he enter-
a strong personal as well as party prejudice,
broke out once and again during the pro-
s on his impeachment. The accession of
igs to power in 1806 was accompanied by

their junction with Lord Sidmouth; and as required to have a friend in the strangely mixed cabinet, the unfortunate choice was made of the first Criminal and Common Law Judge in the land of whom to make a political partisan;—he who in high office it was to try political offences of every description, and among others the daily libels upon the government of himself and his colleagues. This error has ever been deemed one of the dark pages of Whig history. Mr. Fox made a dexterous and ingenious defence, quoting a few special precedents against the most sound principles of the constitution; and, with a singular forgetfulness of the real case, defending an inroad on the proper administration of criminal justice by appeals to instances of Civilians and Chancery lawyers sitting in Parliament. But Lord Ellenborough's own example lately took occasion honestly to state that his father had told him, if it were to do over again, he should be no party to such a proceeding. He said this in the course of the discussion which I raised against making the Lord Chief Justice one of the Regency in the event of the next heir being beyond the seas on a demise of the crown. I may add, that being asked by Mr. Fox my opinion of his argument the day after Mr. Stanhope's motion, the reaction which he gave my strong expression of disapproval left me the strong impression that he had fully appreciated the difficulties of his case, if not its weakness.

be bench, it is not to be denied that Lord Ellenborough occasionally suffered the strength of his feelings to break forth, and to influence the tone and temper of his observations. That he upon any one occasion, knowingly deviated from the breadth of justice in the discharge of his duty, is wholly untrue. The case which gave rise to the greatest comment, and even led to a show of impeachment, was Lord Cochrane's case; but I have the best reason to know that the counsel assisted at this trial were in truth convinced of the purity with which the judicial duties were discharged, and the equality with which justice was administered. Lord Ellenborough was not of those who, in directing the jury, merely read over notes and let them guess at the opinions they formed; leaving them without any help or indication to form their own judgments. In each case that came before him he had an opinion; and while he left the decision with the jury, he intimated how he thought himself. This mode of performing the office of judge is now generally followed and most commonly approved. In the course taken by this great judge in the case of Lord Cochrane and his alleged associates; many of those who attacked him for it had been present at the trial of the case which stood before it or after it in the paper, and would have found Lord Ellenborough trying

that case in the self-same way—it being upon a bill of exchange or for goods delivered.

I must, however, be here distinctly to deny the accuracy of the opinion Mr. Ellenborough appears to have formed, and deeply to lament the verdict of the jury returned, after three hours' consideration. If Lord Cochrane was at his uncle, Mr. Cochrane Johnstone's, it was the whole extent of his privy. Having been one of the counsel engaged in the cause, I can speak with some confidence of it, and I take upon me to assert that Lord Cochrane's conviction was mainly owing to the repugnance which he felt to giving up or taking those precautions for his own safety which would have operated against that necessity. Even when he, the real criminal, had been acquitted by taking to flight, and the other parties were brought up for judgment, we could not persuade Lord Cochrane to allow himself to be loose from the contamination by abandoning the cause.

As regarded the Lord Chief Justice at the trial, none of us entertained any doubt that he had acted impartially, according to his duty, and had tried it as he would have tried any other cause in which neither political nor personal considerations could have interfered. Our only

his Lordship's refusal to adjourn after the
 author's case closed, and his requiring us to
 appear upon our defence at so late an hour, past
 six o'clock, that the adjournment took place at
 eight, and before we called our witnesses. Of
 this I speak of the trial at Guildhall only.
 Lord Ellenborough was equally to blame with his
 colleagues in the Court of King's Bench for that
 cruel and unjustifiable sentence, which at once
 annulled Lord Cochrane's re-election for West-
 moreland when the Commons expelled him upon
 conviction, and abolished for ever the punish-
 ment of the pillory, in all but one excepted case,
 namely, in which also it has practically ceased to
 be used, and disgrace our criminal jurisprudence.—
 To cage a person of quality, or to set him in the
 stocks, upon account of any crime whatever (said
 Lord Smith, half a century before this case
 occurred), is a brutality of which no European
 government except that of Russia is capable.”—
Sent., p. 11, § 3.)

In 1833, the government of which I was a
 member restored this great warrior to his rank of
 admiral in our navy. The country, therefore, in
 event of hostilities, would now have the in-
 valuable benefit of his services, whom none per-
 ever equalled in heroic courage, and whose
 variety of resources, military as well as naval,
 placed him high among the very first of com-

manders. That his honours of knighthood so seriously won should still be withholden is a stain upon him, but upon the councils of his count and after his restoration to the service, it is inconsistent and incomprehensible as cruel unjust.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE BUSHE.

ALTHOUGH I had not the advantage of knowing this eminent person in his judicial capacity, yet I had the great pleasure of his acquaintance, and I also upon one remarkable occasion saw him examined as a witness upon matter partly of fact and partly of opinion; it was before the Irish committee of 1839. The testimony of a judge thus given bears a close resemblance to the opinion which he delivers in Court and the directions which he gives to a jury. Acting in both capacities under the obligation of his oath, and in pursuit of nothing but the truth, it becomes him to pronounce, with most scrupulous fairness, the opinions which he states, to relate with the utmost precision the facts which he knows, and to weigh nicely every word which he uses in conveying his statement. No one who heard the very remarkable examination of Chief Justice Bushe could avoid forming the most exalted estimate of his judicial talents. Many of the questions to which he necessarily addressed himself were involved in party

controversy, kindling on one side and great heats; yet never was a more calm fair tone than that which he took and preserved. Some of the points were nicety; but the discrimination with which he handled them was such as seemed to overcome every difficulty, and dispel whatever obscured the subject. The choice of his words was felicitous; it always seemed as if the expression was selected which was the most happily adapted to convey the meaning, with simplicity and without the least mitigation or of softening. The manner of each sentence, too, betokened an anxiety to state the very truth, and the slowness of utterance that each word was cautiously weighed, and shed over the whole the grace of an altogether singular for its combined simplicity and dignity. All that one had heard of the fascination of his manner, both at the bar and on the bench, became easily credible to those who heard his evidence.

If we followed him into the circle of his social society, the gratification was exceedingly great. Nothing, indeed, could be more delightful than his conversation made no effort, not the least display, and the few moments that he spent with us at all times all persons wished to have been prolonged. There was a conciseness and

his expressions which none who heard him could forget. The power of narrative which so greatly distinguished him at the bar was marvellously shown in his familiar conversation ; but the shortness, the condensation, formed perhaps the feature that took most hold of the hearer's memory. They who passed one of his evenings with him during that visit to London will not easily forget an instance of this matchless faculty, and, at the hazard of doing it injustice, I must endeavour here to reserve it. He was describing a Gascon who had sent him wine, which was destroyed at the Custom-house fire in Dublin, and he contrived to comprise in a few sentences, to all appearance naturally and without effort, his narrative of the proceeding,

with two documents, and the point.—“He had sent me wine which was consumed in the Custom-house fire, and he wrote to condole with me on the loss to the public, but especially of the wine, which, he said, he found was by law at the purchaser's risk. I answered, and offered as some consolation to him the assurance that by law it was at his risk of the seller.”—Some members of the Northern Circuit then present were reminded of a celebrated story which the late Mr. Baron Wood had to be called upon to relate, in exemplification of the singular conciseness, and, I may add, felicity, of his diction.*

* It would be difficult to name any composition superior

But it is fit that we should turn to the man whose name is Chief Justice Bushe while in the earlier part of his life he filled a high station at the bar. His education had been classical, and he studied and practised the rhetorical art with great success. He was a member of the Historical Society of Dublin University, an institution famous for having trained about the same time Lord Plunket to that almost unrivalled excellence which he early attained, and for which at a former period fostered and exercised the talents of Grattan, and Flood, and all the eminent orators. The proficiency of Bushe may be estimated from the impression which Mr. Grattan confessed that the young man had made upon him. Having been present at one of the debates in the scene of his former studies, and heard Bushe speak, his remark was, "that he spoke with the lips of an angel." Accordingly, upon being called to the bar in 1790, he soon rose to extensive practice. In this he owed as much to his nice discretion, to his tact and the quickness which forms a *Nisi* — an advocate's most important qualification, as to his powers of speaking. Of law he had a sufficient provision without any remarkable store of learning, nor did he ever either at the bar or on the bench excel in the black letter of the profession.

in this respect to the two Tracts of Mr. Baron Wood, on the Tithe Law and its defects. They were printed, and published.

But his merit as a speaker was of the highest description. His power of narration has not, perhaps, been equalled. If any one would see this in its greatest perfection, he has only to read the inimitable speech on the Trimbleston cause: the narrative of Livy himself does not surpass that great effort. Perfect simplicity, but united with elegance; a lucid arrangement and unbroken connection of all the facts; the constant introduction of the most picturesque expressions, but never as ornaments; these, the great qualities of narrative, accomplish its great end and purpose; they place the story and the scene before the hearer, or the reader, as if he witnessed the reality. It is unnecessary to add, that the temperate, and chaste, and even subdued tone of the whole is unvaried and unbroken; but such praise belongs to every part of this great speaker's oratory. Whether he claims or argues, moves the feelings or resorts to ridicule and sarcasm, deals in persuasion or invective, he never is, for an instant, extravagant. We have not the condensed and vigorous demonstration of Plunket; we have not those marvelous figures, sparingly introduced, but whensoever used, of an application to the argument absolutely magical;* but we have an equal display of chas-

Let no one hastily suppose that this is an exaggerated description of Lord Plunket's extraordinary eloquence. Here shall be found such figures as those which follow—

tened abstinence, of absolute freedom from a vices of the Irish school, with, perhaps, a winning grace of diction; and all who have nessed it agree in ascribing the greatest power a manner that none could resist. The utmost partial criticism could do to find a fault would praise the suavity of the orator at the expense of his force. John Kemble described him as the greatest actor off the stage;" but he forgot that great an actor must also have stood highest at his Thespian brethren had the scene been shifted.

In 1798 he came into Parliament. The struggle of the Union was then beginning;

each raising a living image before the mind, yet embodying not merely a principle, but the very argument in hand—each leaving that very argument literally translated into figure? The first relates to the Statutes of Limitation or to prescriptive title:—"If Time destroys the evidence of title, the laws have wisely and humanely made legal possession a substitute for that which has been destroyed. He comes with his scythe in one hand to mow down monuments of our rights; but in his other hand the law has placed an hour-glass, by which he metes out in those portions of duration which render needless the defence that he has swept away."

Explaining why he had now become a Reformer, he had before opposed the question:—"Circumstances said he, "are wholly changed; formerly Reform came at our door like a felon—a robber to be resisted. He now approaches like a creditor; you admit the justice of his demand, and only dispute the time and the instalments which he shall be paid."

flung himself into the ranks of its adversaries; he made his most splendid speech to which that controversy gave rise, after Mr. Plunket's, was made by Mr. Bushe. On the measure being carried, he had serious thoughts of removing to England, for he considered Dublin as now become a provincial town. The difficulties into which his honourable conduct in undertaking to discharge the debts of his family had placed him, prevented, in all probability, the execution of this plan, and in the course of a few years he first became Solicitor-General under Mr. Plunket and Mr. Saurin successively, and afterwards, in Lord Wellesley's first vice-royalty, succeeded Lord Downes as Chief Justice of the King's Bench. All parties allow that during the many political contests which filled the period of twenty-seven years during which he was a law-officer in the crown, he performed his duty with perfect impartiality towards the Government, but with the most undeviating humanity and toleration towards his opponents in church or state. Nor has the charge of calumny ever tarnished the purity of his judicial character during the twenty years that he sat on the bench. He was stern in his administration of the criminal law, but he was as fully impartial as he was severe. In one particular he was perfect, and it is of great importance in a judge; he knew no distinction of persons among those who practised before him, unless it

was to protect and encourage rising merit; for a young advocate was ever sure of his ear, even when the fastidiousness of veteran practitioners might disregard his efforts. This kindly disposition he carried with him from the bar, where he had been always remarkable for the courtesy with which he treated his juniors; indeed, it went further, and was a constant habit of protecting and encouraging them.

His oratorical excellence was plainly of a kind which might lead us to expect a similar success in written composition. Accordingly he stood very high among the writers of his day; so high that we may well lament his talents being bestowed upon subjects of an ephemeral interest. The work by which he is chiefly known as an author is a pamphlet on the Union, published in answer to the Castle manifesto, written by Mr. Under-Secretary Cooke. Mr. Bushe's tract is called '*Conjuring your funning*,' and it consists of a well-sustained ironical attack upon the Under-Secretary, who assumes to be an United Irishman, or other rebel in disguise. The plan of such an irony is, for so long work, necessarily defective. It must necessarily degenerate occasionally into tameness; and it runs the risk every now and then of being taken too seriously; as I well remember an ironical defence of the Slave Trade once upon a time so manifestly failed of its object that some worthy abolitionists

re preparing an answer to it, when they were informed that the author was an ally in disguise. Such fate was likely to befall '*Cease your mning.*' It is, indeed, admirably executed; as successfully as a work on such a plan can be; and amends the reader of the best of Dean Swift's critical writings, being indeed every way worthy his pen.

It would be impossible to give any specimens of this far-famed pamphlet; but there is another, a production of his earlier years, which appears to me possessed of the greatest merit; it is an answer to Paine's '*Rights of Man*;' and it would be hard to say whether the sound and judicious

reasoning, or the beautiful and chaste composition, most deserve our admiration. Mr. Bushe was only four-and-twenty when this work appeared, and it is no exaggeration to say that it deserves a place on the same level with Mr. Burke's celebrated '*Reflections.*' To support such a panegyric, examples will be required; and I have no fear in appealing to such passages as the following, after promising that they differ in no respect from the rest of the work, which extends to above eighty pages.

'Any man who has studied the merits and enjoyed the blessings of the English constitution, cannot but be alarmed when the legislators of France ('these babes and sucklings in politics')*

* An expression of Paine's applied to others.

are held up in their cradle to the imita country whose government adds the st maturity to the venerable aspect of age; ment which I trust will not be exchan certain tumult in the first instance, and : reform in the second. I love liberty as Mr. Paine; but differ from him in my what it is—I pant not for the range of unbounded, barren, and savage; but | limited enjoyments of cultivation, whose while they restrain, protect us, and a quality more than they deduct from the q my freedom; this I feel to be my birth subject of Great Britain, and cannot bu for my happiness, when a projector recon level the wise and ancient land-marks, bi the fences, and disfigure the face of ever ance. I have no wish to return to the search of my natural rights. I consider have exchanged them for the better, an terminated to stand by the bargain.

“These sentiments, my dear Sir, have me to trouble you and the public with The times are critical, and the feeble cannot be unwelcome, when a factory of is set up in the metropolis, and an assi

* An association had been formed in Dul purpose of circulating Paine's book, at a low pri the country.

sends an inflammatory pamphlet through the kingdom; when these state quacks, infecting their country at the heart, circulate, by fomenting applications, the poisons to the extremities, and reduce the price of the pestilence, lest the poverty of any creature should protect him from its contagion. The times are critical when such a book as Mr. Paine's appears, and the consequences would be fatal if its success were proportioned to the zeal of its author, or the assiduity of its propagators. It is a system of false metaphysics and bad politics. Any attempt to carry it into effect must be destructive of peace, and there is nothing practical in it but its mischief. It holds out inducements to disturbance on the promise of improvement, and softens the prospect of immediate disorder, in the cant of the empiric, '*You must be worse before you can be better.*' It excites men to what they ought not to do by informing them of what they can do, and preaches rights to promote wrongs.* It is a collection of unamiable speculations, equally subversive of good government, good thinking, and good feeling. It establishes a kind of republic in the mind; dethrones the majesty of sentiment; degrades the dignity of noble and elevated feelings; and substitutes a democracy of mean and vulgar calcula-

* An instrument was sold in France for less than half-a-crown, called "*Droits de l'Homme.*" It concealed a cut-thrust sword, and looked like a common whip.

on. In their usurpation, all the grace,
 ,ance, and order of the human heart is
 and the state of man,

‘Like to a little kingdom, suffers
 The nature of an insurrection’——”

The following passage is somewhat more a
 bitious and figurative, though not more terse a
 epigrammatic; and, though less severe, it can
 be justly charged with violating the canons of a
 rect taste.

“If the institution of honours perfects and i
 mulates ambition, and that ambition looks beyo
 the grave, will not this perpetuation of the pr
 increase the emulation? Is there nothing to enhan
 our honour in the consideration that it is to be tra
 mitted to the children of your affection, and th
 you are the ennobler of many? Is ambition fr
 gratified, or desert half rewarded by a distinc
 perishable as yourself, to be laid down ere it is
 won, and to crumble into dust with your rem
 Is the reward of merit to be intrusted to th
 grateful memory of mankind? Shall its rew
 late and its enjoyment short? That deviatio
 strict justice is not very severe, and is c
 very politic, which indulges the manes
 father with the honours of the son, and forb
 in the contemplation of his mortality, to l
 his inducements as insufficient, and his r
 incomplete. The wreath of fame wou

ear if it was not evergreen ; and the emblem because it does not wither. Considerations I discover a probable and of hereditary dignities, as far as their regards the person upon whom they are conferred : in regard to him the reward is enlarged ; in regard to others the exertion was increased. But the hereditary dignities does not rest here. A principle in the heart of man which any reward will encourage, because it is the virtue,—I mean the principle of honour, those moments of weakness when confidants, watches over the deserted charge, friends in the defence of integrity. It is a principle of conduct which the imagination loves, is itself the reward, and inflicts the punishment. The audacity of vice is not fear ; the sense of reason may be eluded, may elude temporal, and impiety defy reproof ; but honour holds the scourge and he is hard indeed who trembles not at it. Even if the publicity of shame be annulled, its sanction is not destroyed. Every one is ashamed of himself, and the blushes of agony. The dread of shame is the last which forsakes the breast, and the honour frequently retains it when every other principle of good conduct has abandoned the

heart. This sentiment must ever be in prop to a man's opinions of what is expected from and in proportion as he is taught that much expected from him, will it swell in his bosom sharpen his sensibility. I cannot therefore do a mere '*diminutive childishness*'* in the insti of hereditary dignities, if they cherish this ment, and if this sentiment cherishes virtue France has '*breeched herself*'† into man's little purpose of good government in putting the delusion, if delusion it is. An establishm something more than '*puerile*,'‡ which gives ragement to virtue, dignity to worth, adds th of great to good, and makes that splendid was useful. Society was made for man ; s man is various, and frail, and vain, it does not to promote his happiness by playing on his fi its strength is armed against his fears ; his are fed by its rewards ; and its blandishme directed to his vanities. Virtue, coldly enter in any other corner of the heart, will take a hold in the pride of man. She has often c her temple on the coronets of a glorious an and the world has been indebted to the ma the dead for the merits of the living."

The reader of these fine passages is at o minded of Mr. Burke, and the best of his w on the French Revolution and the frame of s

* Paine's expression.

† Ib.

‡ Ib

possible to doubt that Mr. Bushe had deeply that great performance, and that he unavoidably treating the same subject, fell into a similar style, while he felt a common sentiment at illustrious author. But there is nothing in the imitation, if imitation it be; and of usands who have endeavoured to tread the path, no one but he has been successful. , it may well be affirmed that, successfully ate Mr. Burke, asks Mr. Burke's own genius; a betide the wight who, without his strength, is to put on his armour. Among the various tes* that have been preserved of the Chief , there is no record of Mr. Burke having made acquainted with the masterly performance of his fellow-labourer. He who eagerly opened is to the able and brilliant, but very inferior various periodical publications there have been of Mr. Bushe at all times of his life. Some of these up as early as 1822, on his elevation to the bench; one down to his retirement; and some have appeared death. I have, of course, consulted them all, as resorted to private sources of information. That ne of them, at least, no reliance can safely be placed, from the random way in which facts and dates are th. What shall be said of the careful attention to ect, of writers who make Lord Grenville's government dismissed in 1808, and Mr. Bushe have been thirteen the bar when that dismissal happened; and who re-Mr. Sheridan as taking a part against the Coercion 817, when he died in 1816, and had not been in Parliament since 1812?

coadjutor, whom he found in Professor W must have received with delight such an al the author of this admirable book. It c contains not merely the germ and rudiments extraordinary, and in some sort peculiar, eloq for which its author was afterwards so rema but, with a few occasional exceptions in poi severity, a few deviations from simplicity, pa able on such a subject, it exhibits that very d itself which distinguished him—chaste and addressed continually to the subject in hand, in with epigram, sufficiently but soberly sprinkles flowers, often sharpened with sarcasm, always to serious and wise reflection. When we reflex this was the work of a very young man, the ma and gravity of the style, as well as of the reas becomes exceedingly striking: and it is inter to observe the impression which a perusal of on the author's mind after an interval of many He possibly felt some of that mortification Sir Joshua Reynolds and other great artis known to have expressed upon remarking the lence of their earlier efforts, and being sensibl little their pencil had afterwards improved that as it may, the following note lies before the Chief Justice's hand, dated August, 183 it may appropriately close these commentaries

“ I have read over,” says his Lordship, “ a phlet which I wrote in 1791, when a very

in my twenty-fifth year; and although my
r, at least older, judgment and taste condemn
instances of hasty and erroneous opinions
y hazarded, much superficial and inaccurate
ning, and several puerilities and affectations of
, yet at the end of forty years, I abide by
of the principles which I then maintained, and
der the execution of the work, taken alto-
er, as better than anything of which I am now
ble."

THOMAS JEFFERSON

WE have had occasion to note the extraordinary capacity and brilliant history of Washington Franklin, next to whom undoubtedly a great man that founded the American nation is to be mentioned Jefferson, although he follows at a considerable distance. But without the extraordinary virtue of the one—because, it never passed through the same temptations without the singular genius of the other, both to the great cause of human liberty were valuable; his life was steadily devoted to the maintenance of his principles; and he displayed wisdom and ability in the important scenes in which he performed a conspicuous part. At a time when there is an unaccountable disposition, even among the friends of liberty, to undervalue the importance of the great Republic, to grudge her extraordinary success, and to take delight in foretelling her memberment and her downfall, it becomes necessary to commemorate the virtues of her founders if we should not in all particulars adopt

aions, and if we should witness with pain
 .ring imperfections in the frame or in the
 of the polity which they established.
 as educated very carefully for the profession
 aw, and had also the inestimable advantage
 d classical and scientific instruction. He
 t the mathematics under Dr. Small, a brother
 : mathematician of that name, who acquired
 fame among geometricians by his demonstra-
 of Dr. Matthew Stewart's celebrated Porisms.
 n Jefferson came to Virginia, his native state,
 as soon distinguished among his brethren as a
 d and accurate lawyer. His speaking was plain
 business-like, aspiring to no higher praise. But
 ing the eight years that he continued in the pro-
 ion, his success was so great that he must, had he
 severed, have risen to the foremost rank as a prac-
 oner. It happened, however, that the disputes
 ween the mother country and the colonies now
 ke out, and being chosen in his twenty-fifth year
 represent his county in the Virginian Assembly,
 soon withdrew his attention from legal pursuits,
 d finally abandoned them altogether, when he led
 : way to the Revolution by his Resolution which
 : Assembly adopted to establish a Committee o
 rrespondence with the legislatures of the othe
 onies. The Convention, and then the Gener
 ngress, soon followed; indeed, they grew nat
 ly out of the Committee, and only waited the ne

act of oppression from England to mature them. Yet still there was the most marked reluctance to throw off the yoke of the mother country. Jefferson himself, in a letter to the Attorney-General, Randolph, written so late as the middle of 1773, and after the first blood that stained the unhappy quarrel had been shed, declared that "in the whole empire there was not a man who more cordially loved the union with Great Britain;" but he added his fixed resolution not to bear taxation without representation.* Even after the battle of Bunker's Hill he expressed to his old master, Dr. Small, then settled in Scotland, his anxious hope of conciliation. The party called moderate, in contradistinction to the Washingtons and Jeffersons that under Dickenson, was not less prepared for desperate extremities, if the cardinal point of taxation should not be conceded by England. It is certain, and it is the greatest praise which can be bestowed upon any people in such circumstances, that all parties were guided by men who

* The thoughtless folly of some in the United States in France likening the case of the Union with that to the subordination of America, exceeds belief. Yet America would ever have rebelled, nay who would ever have agitated, if the Americans had been represented in parliament? Adam Smith, who proposed a general tax of the empire to pay the public debt (*Wealth of Nations*, v. ch. 3), coupled it with the Irish Union and a similar taxation to America and the West Indies.

ary firmness with singular moderation above all, whose singleness of purpose starts in any instance to have been sudden who would have shuddered at the sight of levying a rent upon the feelings alone which their arts had excited.

In contemplating their whole conduct in the various courses which they had to steer, we find in for any deviation from the line of wisdom and integrity, we also find it impossible to find any material error of judgment commencing the whole management of their perilous and changing affairs. From all the unreflecting haste, the sudden changes, the intemperate excess, the thoughtless desertion of leaders, the loss of popular admiration and hatred, by which our revolutions have been so constantly retarded, when the people were the principal directing them about, it must be confessed that the conduct of the Americans is exempt. No deliberative assembly of the people in number and acting free from all restriction or control, ever carried on the government of a community settled in peace, and whose affairs were managed with greater calmness or more judiciously than the American Congress guiding a revolutionary government, in each step of its progress their own exist-

STATESMEN OF TIME OF GEORGE III.

ance and that of the community whom they represented and governed.

When it seemed manifest that neither side would yield, and a separation became inevitable, a committee of five, at the head of whom was Jefferson, received the commission to prepare a manifesto of their reasons for at length taking the great step. His colleagues were Franklin, Adams, Sherman, and Livingston; the paper was prepared by him; they made few alterations, but the Congress omitted about a third part of it, in order to avoid topics that might give offence in the mother country. Among these omissions was a paragraph reproaching the African slave-trade, to which they might not unjustly suppose England was partial, inasmuch as she had formerly interposed her authority shamefully, scandalously, wickedly interposed to prevent the Abolition earnestly desired by colonial subjects. Nevertheless, it is possible the omission was also made with a view to conciliate the slave-holding states who had not yet resolved to set their faces against this great abomination. With these omissions, and the further alteration of a few lines, the instrument was finally adopted and it was signed on the Fourth of July.

This is that famous *Declaration of Independence* by which the freemen of the New world asserted themselves worthy of their ancestors in the

se ancestors who had spoken, and written, and
ght, and perished for conscience and for free-
n's sake,—but whose descendants in the Old had
always borne their high lineage in mind. In
history of mankind there is no more important
nt, on which side soever of the Atlantic its
sequences may be regarded; and if tyrants are
ometimes said to feel uneasy on the Thirtieth of
uary, how much more fitted to inspire alarm
the recollections associated with the Fourth of
y, in which no remorse can mingle on the peo-
s part, and no consolation is afforded to their
ressors by the tendency of cruelty and injustice
nar the work they stain!

I have noted the unfortunate omission of the para-
ph relating to the Slave Trade; and it is only
to Jefferson's memory that it should here be

rted. The frame of the Declaration was to
rge all the grievances complained of directly
a the King of England.

'He has waged cruel war against human nature
lf, violating its most sacred rights of life and
sty in the persons of a distant people, who never
aded him, captivating* and carrying them into
ery in another hemisphere, or to more miserable
h in their transportation thither. The piratical

As usual, this will be reckoned an Americanism (as the
ks used to say of their colonists, a Solœcism). But it
ndoubted English authority.—Locke among others.

be bought and sold, he has prostituted his
influence for suppressing every legislative attempt
to inhibit or restrain this execrable commerce.
this assemblage of horrors might want no
tinguished die, he is now exciting these
to rise in arms among us, and to put
liberty of which he has deprived them, turning
ing the people on whom he also has obtained
thus paying off former crimes committed
liberties of one people with crimes which
them to commit against the *lives* of another.

It is to the unspeakable honour of Jefferson
born and bred in Virginia, himself an owner
groes like all Virginian landholders, his father
in the assembly was a proposition to favour
manumission of slaves. It was not till
the full power of emancipation was given to the
legislature. But his proposal in 1779 was not
further in advance of his age; it was to free the
children of slaves, born after a certain

for the middle classes, and an university
higher branches of learning, was fated to
e similar delays, though happily not so
tracted; in 1796 it was partially, and in
lly, adopted by the Virginian legislature.
r favourite scheme he was more successful.
lish law against perpetuities had strangely
ified, or rather abrogated, in Virginia, in
of Queen Anne; so that there was no
cutting off an entail by fine or recovery,
other way than by a private or estate bill.
he Revolutionary war Jefferson succeeded
ng this colonial law, and he soon after also
an abrogation of the law of primogeniture.
t of the change has been great, and has
iversally in Virginia. Men's disposition
roperty has followed the legal provision;
inks of making an eldest son his general
orresponding division of wealth has taken
ere is no longer a class living in luxurious
e, while others are dependent and poor;
nger see so many great equipages, but you
rywhere with carriages sufficient for use
ort; and though formerly some families
more plate than any one house can now
whole plate in the country (says a late
is increased forty if not fifty fold. It is
with equal confidence, that though the class
efined persons has been exceedingly cur-

Jefferson, however, was not more zealous in promoting all measures which might promote the growth of aristocratic distinctions and the level of republican equality, than he was in furthering whatever might tend to promote religious liberty, with which he considered an established church to be incompatible. Upon this subject we may entertain a very different opinion, and may, with the most entire devotion to the principles of toleration, be able to distinguish between those principles from the zeal of the advocates, as well as from the preponderance of a state. No one who contemplates the intolerance of the country during the times of the Commonwealth can repose any great reliance upon the meekness or the liberality of conflicting sects.

son's persevering efforts for eradicating all
ialtical privileges, when we reflect that he
cting as a strict, even a stern, republican.
lergy of Virginia had from the earliest settle-
of the colony been endowed not only with
out with a parochial assessment, although the
rtion of dissenters had increased to almost an
ty with the numbers of the churchmen. It
ot till the year 1799 that Jefferson's efforts
crowned with entire success, and the last
of preference to one church over the rest
nally effaced. They who agreed with him
inion upon this important subject maintain
ently that all remains of religious intolerance
been extinguished by those measures, and
he means of spiritual instruction have been
y extended; but how far the cause of sound
tional religion generally has gained, can only
ertained by the experience of a longer time.
er having for two years held the office of
mor of Virginia by election, Jefferson was in-
chosen to represent that state in Congress.
t was no longer the same body in which he
cted during the tempestuous period of the
ution, when it consisted only of 50 or 60
rs, all men of business, men of action. He
undantly sensible of the difference, and look-
eck on the days when "the Washingtons and
ranklins were wont at once to seize the great

point of a question, leaving the little ones of themselves, and never treat two arguments at a time," he adds, "if the present Congress ever does much talking, how can it be otherwise in a country to which the people send 150 lawyers, who are to question everything, yield nothing, by the hour?" From this scene he was not to be released by accepting the mission to Europe, where he remained as minister of the United States from 1784 till 1790. The interest which he took in the great Revolution may well be considered as intimately connected as it was with the American independence; but his foresight of its progress was not clearer than other men's, for he never foresaw that a year after his return to America would be the "certain and happy termination of the struggle for liberty."

He now, at Washington's earnest request, came to the hearty desire which he had of returning into private life, and became his Secretary of the Treasury. If any one could doubt that great man's sincere republican feelings, this anxiety for the introduction into his cabinet of the very chief of the democratic party must at once dispel all such fancies. The able and virtuous leader of the Federalists in the cabinet was Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. Knox, the Secretary at War, joined him. Randolph, the Attorney-General, sided with Jefferson. But Washington, taking part with

the balance even between them with the pulous justice which marked his lofty nature, with the firm hand which he of all men most essed. It is strange, it is melancholy, to see folly of sanguine men in pertinaciously believing those things have a real existence which they mently wish were true. Because Washington r took part with the French faction, and kept f from the more violent movements of the eratic party, and because Hamilton and others e Federalists despaired of a republican govern- t being practicable, or at least permanent, in a t community, the party in this country most sed to popular institutions, and who retained a ering after monarchical government in Ame-

. must needs flatter themselves that they, ained in the United States a leaning towards British yoke, and that at all events the illu- s President as well as the Federalist chiefs, friendly to kingly power. The truth is, that a Hamilton, the most open admirer of our tutions, never dreamed of giving them another in America, until all attempts to establish sting republic should be found to fail. His le were remarkable in recommending that all r modifications of popular government should ed before recourse was again had to monarchy. at mind," he said, "must be really depraved. h would not prefer the equality of political

rights, the foundation of pure republicanism, if were to be obtained eventually with order." Accordingly each year that what he regarded as great, though not very promising experiment, continued without a failure—each year that the American constitution proved sufficient for the government of the rapidly-extending people—diminished those apprehensions upon which alone his rested. But Washington never felt any such and wanted no experience to confirm his deep purpose of a republic. Towards England he felt any sentiments but those of distrust and aversion; and his well-considered judgment resolutely a return to monarchy may be easily gathered from his remarkable expression when endeavoring to prevent Jefferson's resignation in 1793, even the excesses of the French Revolution had not increased the number of republicans everywhere, he did not believe there were ten men in the United States for a monarchy." They who flattered Washington was disposed

xistence at Dijon was thus deemed impossible it was unpleasant, in less than a month sided the fate of Europe at Marengo.

When Washington resigned, Jefferson was proper the Presidency, but Adams obtained it, and was chosen Vice-President. At the expiration of Adams's three years, Jefferson succeeded and set an example to all party chiefs when he came to power. He made it his rule never to remove an adversary because his own interests required it, or to retain one because his interests threatened and assailed him. He pursued a consistent course, regardless of the taunts from one side, the importunity of the other; and, although he was subjected to more unmeasured abuse than any man who ever filled his high station, he lived to see full justice done to him, and the firm and manly course of his administration generally approved. It is proper to consider such an example; and they who wish to follow it respecting measures as well as men may be well assured that they mistook their position when they assumed to direct the conduct of their country. Whoever suffers himself to be lured or deterred from the path of his duty, to rule, but obey; he usurps the place of the President, he pretends to guide, when he slavishly follows; but he puts forth false pretences, and is understood to act for himself, while he is really in other men's hands; he meanly undecides

taking the responsibility for the profit or
trouage, they dictating his conduct while the
skulk in the dark. It is a compact equally dis-
honouring both the parties, and of which the coun-
try, whose best interests are sacrificed by it,
the most just right to complain.

Although Jefferson retired from public life
the close of his second presidency, in 1809
days were prolonged for twenty years be-
that period, and these he passed on his estate
Virginia, superintending agricultural im-
vements, and watching over the university which
had founded and which he regarded with un-
parental care. Like the other chief magis-
of the Republic, he retired without any
and his property was at his decease four
sufficient to pay his debts. It was a sin-
affecting coincidence, that when the peo-
ple assembled in countless numbers to cele-
brate the centennial of the American Inde-

impossible to close the page of history records the foundation of the Great Republic, adverting to the singular change that seems years to have come over some friends of this country, inclining them against the institutions which that system consequent upon which it reposes. Writers of but scantily endowed with candour, of moderate circumspection, men labouring under the prejudices of European society, and the social system of the New World the medium of habits and associations to that of the Old, have brought back for information a number of details, for which needed hardly to cross the Atlantic, and have as discoveries a relation of matters necessitating under a very popular government, a very new community. As those travellers they generally failed to make many converts the friends of free institutions either in or in England, there would have been little one to the cause of truth, and no great attention given to the friendly relations which the best interests of both countries require should be maintained unbroken between them. But unless some persons of a superior class appear, partly or from personal feelings, to have, after due reflection on the mischief they were suffering their minds to be poisoned by the

are shared by the Liberal party in E becomes the more necessary, in cons tendency which the most reprehensi some of the States in the Union public creditors has to prepare the reception of such unsound opin which, if left to themselves, would sink into oblivion, how respectable quarters which they may, without have been suffered to reach. I all ticularly to some letters lately publ Sydenham, written confidentially to leagues, while he was acting as Governor-General of British Nor letters the publication of which he

great deal of vague and general abuse may be laid over, as that the Americans "are a calculating people, and fight not for glory but plunder" which is a set of braggadocios, that their public must submit to the claims of their extravagant and self-sufficiency"—that there is among them a "general debasement"—"that those who are in place are corrupt and corrupters, and the people who bestow preferment ignorant, prejudiced, stupid, and utterly immoral." I fear me most of all of this railing might be retorted upon a nation whose wars in China have been highly eulogised by Lord Sydenham in another country though he is greatly scandalised that all the influence of his friends is not likely to prevent their slipping from under them ;"* a nation whose recent elections have of late years been found to be the most hateful corruption, although we might be guilty of a most gross and unpardonable misrepresentation were we on this account to stigmatize the whole people as "utterly immoral" in the

the *intention* of this passage is exceedingly great. "But the use of all this glory if your seats slip from under you." Then, after a great abuse of John Bull, "I am afraid the possession of power is making me terribly inclined to optimism, for I am thinking of planting my cabbages under the shade of Metternich or the Czar," &c.,

To be sure ; and this is exactly the consequence of a Governor-General with dictatorial power.

supported by the most odious and profligate corruption. No man who aims at power can have an opinion of his own; he must panders to the lowest prejudices of the people, and in the present (the two great ones which now divide the country—the Loco-focos and the Whigs) the only policy of the leading men of either is to instill a wretchedly low sentiment into the people, and explode it for their own advantage. I scarcely a statesman of either who would not propagate the most violent or the basest doctrine he could think of, he thought that he could work it to advantage with the majority—speculation and jobbing the only objects; delusion, and the basest of all, the people, the means.”—“If,” adds this statesman, “they drive us into a war, the South will soon settle all that part of the Union: and in the North I feel sure that

ble by surrendering to their worst passions, it makes the country unbearable to a man of education, and the Central Government itself a word amongst civilized nations. I hope (he continues, perhaps consistently enough) that we may long enough to see this great bubble burst; [do not believe that we need be very long—for that" (316).

am sorry to be under the necessity of declaring one is at a loss whether most to marvel at the want of common reflection, or the extraordinary want of common information, in this age—the production of a man in high office, raised to a man still higher, and who presides, without any deliberation, and with no knowledge of the subject, to pronounce so sweeping a censure upon the whole body of a great nation, all their statesmen, and all their institutions. It fits the Americans should well understand that

are the errors and this the rashness of the Governor-General of Canada, and not shared by the Liberal party, or by any but the most ignorant and the most prejudiced in this country.

First of all, Lord Sydenham is no authority on the subject of the United States, merely because he was Governor of Canada, and never in the United States at all. Had he remained in London he would have been as well qualified to judge of those matters, as his living near them for two years could

still disfigure the system, and in its working. Of these the very worst is the entire change of public face from the highest to the lowest, which change of the President, convicts considerable members of the community into hunters, and makes the whole one election of chief magistracy a constant scene of canvass. These and a few other imperfections of the Government of America as far as a popular system can ever be. The considerable evils would be left, if it were from a Republic, because growing out of the share assigned to the people in power, cannot be doubted. But of Lord Sydenham's that as long as power and pre-eminence will be in the hands of a few, that if the right of bestowing offices rests with the people, the people will be sure to seek after them.

We are upon a practical, not a theoretical question; and that question is, what is the possible attainment of theoretic principles as to the comparative merits of different forms of polity. Power must rest in some hands in the community. Patronage must necessarily rest with them that have it. If they be the people at large?

ham ; for if the people are to choose their
 ers, they who would fill ministerial places
 base themselves by pandering to the people's
 ices. But what if we intrust this delicate
 to a court or a prince, for the purpose of
 g the duty be more uprightly discharged, and
 ig the character of the candidates for favour?
 e so blinded by the evils of popular canvass
 have all of a sudden forgotten that other
 erving, that old species of fawning, that
 form of flattery, which the friends of freedom
 purity used to charge upon the parasites of
 s, the crew of courtiers, the minions who
 to the propensities, not of the people, but
 spot? Then shall power and patronage be
 in a patrician body, in a class of men whom
 in of education" might well find not "un-
 de?" The class fawned upon would here
 ight be found more refined in its tastes, and
 be propitiated with a more dainty flattery.
 question if the fawning would be less active,
 suppleness of the candidate for favour would
 compliant, if the senator would be less given to
 ; than they who, instead of crawling in the
 room of the noble, after a more homely
 n take the hand of the peasant and the
 mic. I greatly doubt if less falsehood will
 und in the smooth speeches addressed to
 elect ; within circle than in the boisterous

courts of modern Italy, to say nothing of Rome in her more patrician days. The ground of my doubt is precisely that she is more prone to practise deception in public, and therefore more likely to practise it in the closet, the appointed scene of her arts, than on the hustings, from whence every species of intrigue, at least, must be banished.*

And here is furnished a very striking illustration of the entire carelessness with which the reasoner made his observations upon the conduct of the statesmen who formed his opinions respecting her. He plainly affirms of all statesmen in that age that "their only objects are pecuniary aggrandizement; flattery; and their means of being so are the basest flattery and jobbing." Now surely a very little reflection

ent party divisions, and the publicity with every department of Government is administration impracticable. They might be charged with "compassing and imagining the death of the King." It is an offence which in this country can have no existence. But this error into which the writer has fallen, shows the strength of his prejudices against Americans, proves also the weakness of his annoyance, and it is a sufficient answer to all of his general invective.

On the standing topic of vulgar manners, let me only state that there are many parts both in France and England to which we should not resorting were we in quest of patterns, not of bad goods but polished manners. Even in representing Manchester, Lord Sydenham would hardly have cited the bulk of his constituents as superior in elegance to the people of New York. But an authority fully as high as himself on this delicate matter, M. de Lafayette, would, I personally know, have severely chid him for imputing even the manners of the Americans; and after such an authority, any further defence is superfluous. Required, two facts may be mentioned. Sir John Manners declared that he had never conversed with a better bred sovereign in any court of Europe than General Washington; and among the women of the highest breeding in our day no one would

hesitate to mention Lady Wellesley.* They have never been in the United States may be pardoned if they feel unable to believe a notion entertained by others who, like themselves and Lord Sydenham, have also never been there but who would yet assume General Washington and Lady Wellesley to be the only persons of such manners ever produced in the Union.

It is, however, not avowedly on the score of their under-breeding that the Governor-General rests his dislike of the Americans. On the contrary, he rather seems disposed to pass that line of complaint lightly, though it is plainly enough the bottom of many feelings upon the subject. His main accusation is the mob tyranny, and the habit of their public men quailing before it. No doubt a certain degree of this evil is inseparable from every popular Government. Who in Ireland dares profess any opinion hostile to the Royal hierarchy throughout three of the provinces, favourable to it in the fourth? No rational politician dares attend a popular meeting now in this country for fear of Repeal, which not one single member of either House of Parliament will vote

* Others might well be added. For example, Lady Ashburton; but her long residence in this country prevents all, excepting a few, from recollecting that she came to America in her younger days as highly accomplished in manners as the world has more lately seen her.

a few Irishmen under mob influence. Who in
 was safe in England if he proclaimed his dis-
 of the Reform Bill? What public meeting has
 moderate liberal politician ventured to hold of
 years? Have not even the corn-law repealers
 fain to raise the popular cry of cheap bread
 assemblies collected by tickets, and from which
 multitude were carefully excluded? We may
 go so far as the Americans in humouring the
 lar cry of the hour when we address our con-
 ents, because our Government is less purely
 lar than theirs; but can any one doubt that
 speeches of our political chiefs—aye, and even
 measures when in office—take the tincture of
 multitude to whom they are addressed, and
 e favour they are expected to conciliate? If
 be denied, we may require to be informed

Lord Sydenham precisely means when—
 rting to the free-trade measures respecting
 er, sugar, and, above all, corn, in 1841—he

“It is an immense point gained to get a new
 under which to fight. The people of England
 ot care a rush for any of your Irish hobby-
 s; and they are not with you upon Church
 ers, or grievances of that kind. Even your
 gn policy has not touched them the least, and
 abt whether twenty victories would give you a
 ough or a county; but you have now given
 an intelligible principle offering practical

preference here given to the Corn Bill, Irish Church Reform and the other measures, not rested on the relative merits, but solely on the relative popular tendency, of the different measures, their *capabilities* as "flags to fight under." The Corn Law is preferred because it is the party Shibboleth. No doubt Lord St. Albans would have a right to urge that he has maintained the free-trade doctrine for his own sake; but why will he not allow American men also to prefer each his several tenets for his own sake? Suppose he had found a letter from Mr. Stevenson to a South Carolina friend, containing that some proposition for preventing slavery petitions being received by Congress, was a fine "flag to fight under," "offered an interesting principle to contend for," and, though he would make the Virginian "thrust it under

of the multitude? And would it have been
 an answer to his inference if it had appeared
 : the party proposing this extreme course had
 or thought of it for ten years which they had
 ed in office, but merely brought it forward
 in all other means of obtaining influence had
 ed, and when their fortunes among the con-
 sent bodies of the country were become des-
 te?

But these are possibly extreme cases. Are there
 other instances, even in our own better regu-
 lated system, so much less disfigured by popular
 passion than the American;—no instances of public
 opinion shaping their conduct and their speeches ac-
 cording to the opinions and feelings, or even the
 prejudices and caprices, of the people, either generally
 or locally? Surely common fairness towards the
 Americans required some consideration of the tone
 even in our own election addresses, of the speeches
 made on our own hustings and at our public
 meetings, of the difference between these and the
 parliamentary speeches of the same individuals,
 , of the well known difference between the
 conduct of parliament itself during its first and
 last session. What minister ever ventured
 to propose a civil list on the eve of a general
 election?

The arts to which our attention is directed by
 the remarks are in the highest degree discreditable
 to all who use them, and are incalculably hurtful

most especially is it the duty of those who n
the superior advantages of a popular cons
Them, above all others, it behoves not
the character of popular men, not to cor
people themselves; for it must never be f
that the flattery and the falsehood which t
atmosphere of a court, the poison which
inhale with their earliest breath, cannot v
punity be inspired by the people.

After all, in estimating the merits of
vernment, we must never lose sight of wh
end of all government—the comfort and h
of the people. It may safely be admitted
scheme could be devised for embodying a
ture of wise, virtuous, and enlightened m
an executive council of capacity, integrity, t
removed from popular control animated v

executive body, removed from all control, sets the end of its creation ; and instead of promoting the good of the community at large, directs all its exertions to furthering its own interest. So it must ever be until we are able with a descent of angels to undertake the management of our concerns. Till then there is no security for the community—a watchful vigilance and an efficient control over its activities and rulers. The experiment may be awkward and clumsy ; it may be attended with evils of a serious kind ; it may give rise to an undue influence being exercised by classes of the people who are neither very refined nor always the best, nor even very well informed as to their own interests. Nevertheless, as human society stands at present, in the choice of evils this is the least ; and in spite of many compensations ; it gives the prospect of much diminution of ignorance and of backwardness ; whereas any system that excludes the popular voice must needs lead to a thralldom of abuses which admit of no compensation, and end in wearing out in time, only gather strength and acquire increased malignity with every revolution.

First of all the features in the Union Lord Sumner has no doubt passed entirely over—the old prejudices against negro emancipation. These may yield to circumstances, and give way to more rational as well as more humane

a consequence of the United States daring war with England. Misguided, short-sighted and ignorant, oh, profoundly ignorant of all that belong to the peace and the happiness and colour in the New World ! A negro revolution in the islands, where the whites are as a handful, their sable brethren, might prove fatal to their life, but the African at least would be as far as security can be derived by wading rivers of blood. But on the continent, where numbers of the two colours are evenly balanced and all the arms are in the white man's hands, but the bitterest enemy of the unhappy slave, he can bear to contemplate their wretchedness and tempt by violence to shake off their chains again he feels quite confident that the states must be utterly defeated, and easily as soon as they draw the sword against

public had a flag floating upon the seas. That fifty-four millions, with entire possession of the land, and a formidable fleet at sea, should be overwhelmed by the Canadians and Nova Scotians, is hardly a possible event; but that it is as much a matter of course as the Governor of these petty elements complacently assures himself, may reasonably be doubted. Nay it seems barely possible that some notion should creep into the minds of the Americans, as how a war might lead to the opposite result, of Canada joining with the United States, and forming an additional member of that great confederacy.

They, however, who are the best friends of both countries, must be the least willing to indulge on either side in such speculations. The Americans, it is to be hoped, not be tempted to form pernicious projects by any notion of a hostility towards them prevailing in this country. They may be well assured, that far from regarding our Government as "a bubble," and trusting that it may burst, the universal sentiment in England is the hope that it may long continue to exhibit the proud spectacle of popular freedom, and popular power, combined with order at home, moderation abroad, in successful refutation of the old opinions that a republic was impossible in a large territory with a numerous people.

MARQUESS WELLESLEY

If any one were desired to name the family of modern times which, like the Gracchi at Rome, has most nearly excelled all others in the virtues and renown of its members, there could hardly be any hesitation in pitching upon the illustrious house of which Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquess Wellesley, was the head. But I had the happiness of a long and uninterrupted friendship with that man, and enjoyed more particularly his unreserved confidence during the last ten or twelve years of his life. It is fit, therefore, that I distrust my feelings towards his memory; and in order to serve impartiality, the first duty of an historian, I shall confine myself in treating of him to the facts which are beyond all controversy, and which indeed are the best heralds of his fame.

The family of the Wellesleys originally came from Somersetshire, and by intermarriage with the Cowleys or Colleys, and by a devise from the Poles,* obtained large property in Ireland,

* Lord Maryborough, on his brother's decease

3, in 1756, raised to the Peerage. About
 rs ago they took the name of Wellesley,
 believe, was their more ancient appellation
 is country, that of Wesley being of recent
 he father of the present generation was a
 ' talents and virtue, and his taste in music
 ltivated in an extraordinary degree, he
 author of some beautiful compositions,
 ill retain their place in the favour of the
 world. Dying while some of his children
 y young, the care of their education was
 eir mother,* a daughter of Lord Dun-
 and the family fortune being in consider-
 arrassment, her merit in bringing them
 some difficulties, training them to such

n, was the person to whom this valuable gift was
 gentleman distantly related to the family. His
 as then a young midshipman, and was offered the
 on condition that he quitted the navy and came to
 t his kinsman. But this he refused, as the war
 med, and he thought leaving the service before
 ould be dishonourable. He supposed, as did his
 t there was an end of the benefaction; but the
 man declared by his will that such conduct **only**
 his esteem for the young man, and left him the

as daughter to the first Viscount Dungannon.
 r died before his father; and the second and late
 Dungannon was her nephew. Her father was son
 at-great-grandfather of the present Marquess of
 . Hence the relationship of the Wellesleys to
 shire, Salisbury, and Talbot families.

of our existence, receive; for her life was e
to an extreme old age; she saw all the g
Hindostan, of Spain, and of Waterloo; a
four sons sitting in the House of Lords,
inheritance, but "by merit raised to the
eminence."⁷⁷*

Richard, the eldest son, who at his father
had nearly attained majority, was first sent
row, where he took part in a great rebellion
well-nigh proved fatal to the school. The
sioned his expulsion, and he then went to
where he was distinguished above all the y
his time. When Dr. Goodall, his rector
and afterwards Head master, was examined
before the Education Committee of the H
Commons respecting the alleged passing
Person in giving promotion to King's Col
at once declared that the celebrated Gree

its superior, he at once said Lord Wellesley some of his verses in the *Muse Etonensis* merited, as examples both of pure Latinity and talent. The lines on Bedlam, especially of distinguished excellence. At Christ Church he went from Eton, and where he met Dr. W. Jackson (afterwards Bishop of Exeter), he continued successfully engaged in studies, and his poem on the death of Capshew showed how entirely he had kept up his education: it justly gained the University prize. In his riper years he retained the same taste which had been created at school and at College. At no time of his life does it appear that he abandoned these literary pursuits, but that he continued to be the recreation of a mind like his. At the eve of his departure for the East he presented to Mr. Pitt's desire, those beautiful verses on the conquest, which were first published in the *Jacobin*, and of which the present Lord Wellesley, most finished scholar and a man of true genius, gave a translation of peculiar merit. Nor did the same taste and the same happy and easy versification quit him in the House of Commons. The Committee would have had this struck out of the Bill, as not bearing upon the matter of the increase of Charities; but the general voice was pronounced in favour of retaining it, as a small mark of great respect for Lord Wellesley; and I know how highly he valued this tribute.

Hebrew, that he might be able to relish the
of the Sacred writings, particularly the I
an object of much admiration with him.
quisite lines" on the 'Babylonian Will
planted from the Euphrates a hundred y
were suggested by the delight he took in
Psalm, the most affecting and beautiful
spired king's whole poetry. This fine p
the production of his eightieth year.

At Oxford he formed with Lord Gr
friendship which continued during their l
led to his intimacy with Lord Grenvil
kinsman, Mr. Pitt, upon their entering in
life. That amiable man was sure to set
value upon a heart so gentle, a spirit so
accomplishments so brilliant as Lord We
but it is perhaps one of the most strikin

had any auxiliary at all save Lord Melville, he
er should have deemed it worth his while to
mote Lord Wellesley, whose powers as a
aker were of a high order, and with whom he
d on the most intimate footing. The trifling
ce of a puisne Lord of the Treasury, and a mem-
: of the India Board, formed all the preferment
ich he received before his appointment as Go-
mor-General of India, although that important
mination sufficiently shows the high estimate
ich Mr. Pitt had formed of his capacity.

In the Lords' House of the Irish Parliament
rd Wellesley (then Lord Mornington) first showed
se great powers which a more assiduous devotion
he rhetorical art would certainly have ripened
an oratory of the highest order. For he was
roughly imbued with the eloquence of ancient
æce and Rome, his pure taste greatly prefer-
g, of course, the former. The object of his study,
ever, had been principally the four great ora-
is (on the Crown and the Embassy); and I
ndered to find him in his latter years so com-
tely master of all the passages in these perfect
dels, and this before the year 1839, when he
gan again to read over more than once the Ho-
ric poems and the orations of Demosthenes. I
nt much time with him in examining and com-
ing the various parts of those divine works, in
imating their relative excellence, and in discuss-

ing the connexion of the great passages and argument with the plan of each oration. recollect also being surprised to find that so much neglected the lesser orations; and dazzled as it were with the one which is incomparably superior to all others as a whole not only for some time would not allow a share of praise to *Æschines*, whose oration *Ctesiphon* is truly magnificent, all but the peroration, and whose oration on the *E* excels that of his illustrious rival—but that he had never opened his eyes to the extraordinary beauties of the *Philippics*, without fully at which I conceive no one can have an adequate of the perfection of Demosthenean eloquence being some passages of fierce and indignant more terrible in those speeches than are to be found in the *Ctesiphon* itself. His opinion was Lord Wellesley himself ultimately I believe he derived fully more pleasure of late than he had ever done before from his reading those grand productions.

Upon this admirable foundation, and with pure and chastened taste which he thus had rect his efforts, he could well erect a fine structure. For he had a fervent animation, a poetic force, a mind full of sensibilities, a warm and affectionate; and the clearness of understanding enabled him both to state fac

y arguments with entire success to a refined
 : in the proceedings of none other did he
 : a part. His powers of composition were
 id he adopted the true method of acquiring
 ty of debating, as well as of excelling in
 —he studied his speeches carefully, and fre-
 committed his thoughts to writing. But he
 mean talent for declamation. In the Irish
 nt he attached himself to the party of Mr.
 then in the midst of his glorious struggle
 independence of his country. That great
 kly estimated his value ; and remained affec-
 attached to him through life, although they
 own afterwards into opposite parties. On re-
 to England he became a member of our
 ' Commons, where he was uniformly con-
 ith Mr. Pitt, by private friendship as well
 rity of opinions ; and when the French
 on, and the principles propagated by it in
 try, threatened the subversion of our mixed
 nt, and the trial of the most perilous of
 iments : a pure democracy in a country un-
 for self government, the talents of Lord
 v shone forth in a powerful resistance to
 eing torrent.

reat speech which he delivered in January,
 on the enormities of the French Revolu-

the impossibility of making peace with
 hors and directors, made an extraordinary

likening it to a treatise or a book. The such a piece is to be estimated by regarding whole, and not by particular passages. Its highest merit as a luminous and impressive, accompanied by sound reasoning on disclosed, and animated appeals to the feelings were calculated to excite. The texture whole is artistly woven; and the transition happy and natural. To give any samples qualities would manifestly be impossible. peroration may be read with admiration:—

“All the circumstances of your situation now before you. You are now to make a decision; you are now to decide whether it best preserve the dignity, the wisdom, and the spirit of the nation, to rely for her existence on the will of a restless and implacable enemy, or on her own sword. You are now to decide what

rights of property, and of the whole frame
 laws, our liberties, and our religion: or
 you will deliver over the guardianship of
 blessings to the justice of Cambon, the
 of the Netherlands, who, to sustain the
 fabric of his depreciated assignats, defrauds
 millions of their rights of property, and mort-
 e aggregate wealth of Europe;—to the
 on of Danton, who first promulgated that
 law of nature which ordains that the
 the Pyrenees, the Ocean, and the Rhine
 the only boundaries of the French domi-
 to the religion of Robespierre, whose prac-
 tice is the murder of his own sovereign,
 ports all mankind to embrace the same faith,
 assassinate their kings for the honour of
 o the friendship of Barrère, who avows in
 of all Europe that the fundamental article
 revolutionary government of France is the
 annihilation of the British empire;—or,
 whatever may be the accidental caprice
 few band of malefactors, who, in the last
 ons of their exhausted country, may be des-
 drag the present tyrants to their own scaf-
 seize their lawless power, to emulate the
 of their example, and to rival the enormity
 crimes.”

however, not as an orator that this eminent
 must be regarded; for, before he had attained

of the highest qualities of the statesman, in peace or war, the "*consulta*" united "*mature facts*,"* and the brilliant success crowned all his operations, furnish no matter of interesting reflection, but of instruction to all succeeding rulers. No thing be more fortunate than the access to publication of his "*Dispatches*" has given whole conduct of his splendid administration becomes, therefore, a duty of the historian to record its annals to dwell somewhat upon these things, for the sake of the lessons which a study of them is fitted to impart. I shall now proceed; and it is an inducement to the work, that we thus shall have opportunity of nearly observing the character and conduct of by far the most considerable statesmen whom the east has in modern times

the same thing, the force with which it had
 and by which it might expect to be assailed ;
 l, the balance of power in the peninsula
 d Wellesley assumed the government. We
 efore begin by shortly considering in what
 events of 1791 and 1792 had left it.

General outline of Indian affairs is sufficiently
 to most readers. Whether for good or
 to this country men have doubted, and
 dispute—whether for good or for evil to
 es of India, now that the exaggerations
 y and the distortions of party ingenuity
 n forgotten, no man of ordinary under-
 can raise any question—a footing had been
 owly acquired, afterwards rapidly extended,

Britain in the Indian peninsula, and was
 al by a small numerical force of our
 en, but with the consent, at least the
 mission, of a vast body of the people,
 the concurrence and the help of many
 wers, whose hostility among themselves
 rned to our advantage with great skill,
 pretty uniform success. It had long
 be a question whether or not this empire
 abandoned. Humanity towards our native
 and our allies, as well as justice towards
 countrymen, forbade all thoughts of that
 on, even at times when there seemed a
 ral impression among our rival statesmen

that the East Indian patronage was productive such peril to the constitution of the government at home, and the whole subject of Indian affairs beset with such inextricable difficulties, as justified a wish that we had never set foot on the banks of the Ganges. To continue in the same position, and to abstain from all extension of a dominion already enormous, was therefore the only kind of moderation to which recourse could be had; and it is hardly necessary to observe, that even this was a resolve much easier to make than to keep by. For, suppose ever so fixed a purpose to be entertained, that no consideration should tempt us to increase our dominions, no man could maintain such a resolution inflexibly in all circumstances, and indeed least of all in the very event most likely to happen, namely, of some neighbouring state, after having greatly increased its force, attacking us, or overpowering our allies, or even only menacing us, and endangering our existence, should measures be adopted of a counteracting tendency. In truth, we had gotten into a position from which as it was impossible to retire, so was it not by any means within our own power to determine whether we should stand still in it or advance; and it might happen that the only choice was a total abandonment of our dominion, or an extension of its boundaries. No doubt such an argument is liable to great abuse; it has often been

ed' to justify acts of glaring national wrong. everything depends upon the circumstances in which it is urged, and the particulars of the case to which it is applied. Nor is it, now stated by reference to Lord Wellesley's proceedings in 1798 and 1799; these rest upon wholly different grounds. The present purpose is to explain the conduct of Lord Cornwallis ten years before; and it can hardly be denied that he was left without a guide as to the course he should take, and that the treaty which closed it were rather regarded as necessary measures of self-defence, against acts of aggression and of conquest. That they were so considered, that they were defended on his ground, there can be no doubt; for in his reference was made to the attacks by Tippoo upon our ally the Rajah of Travancore, it is clear that this alone did not justify the measures which we pursued. The first attack had repulsed: Tippoo had not repudiated our alliance, but, on the contrary, had set up a claim of right, grounded on what we ourselves had previously admitted to be a gross misconduct of the Rajah; and, before the second attack, he had, in fact, become the aggressor, by attacking the Mysore camp. Besides, if our whole object was to defend our ally, the success which attended our operations had enabled us to terminate that end with ease; and we derived no right

from any such consideration to continue it as we did, for three years, refusing all of the enemy, and only consenting to make under the walls of his capital upon the to his giving up one-half of his dominions. A true defence of our proceedings, and that was by no means kept back at the time, a dangerous policy of the enemy—the rescue his command, and which he had shown in clearest manner a fixed determination to use first against our allies, and then against ourselves the imminent hazard to which our existence East was exposed as long as such power remained in the hands of a chief bent upon using it for destruction. Indeed, the principal ground of complaint against the war was much less its impolicy than its impolicy; the view taken of our position in those parts being that which, twenty years before (in 1770), had been sanctioned by the authority of some of the local governments, and the expediency of acting with the Sultan of Turkey against the Mahrattas, and regarding the latter as the more formidable adversary; a view which fairly be said to have become as obsolete in our times, as the policy of Queen Elizabeth with respect to the Spanish crown would have been at the period in the management of our European concerns.

may remark further upon that war, the testimony in its favour derived from the act of Lord Cornwallis having been its pro-

The justly venerated name of that prudent and virtuous statesman affords a kind of security to integrity, and, above all, for the moderation of line of conduct which had the sanction of his option. His Indian administration, so far from having ever been deemed any exception to the well-established character, was admitted by all classes of all classes, at a time when party ran riot upon the affairs of the East, to have been so salutary, that his last appointment, in 1805, to Governor-General was the source of universal attachment in England, as well as India; and his death, which so soon followed, was by all parties regarded as a great public calamity. When it is considered that such was the deliberate and unanimous opinion of our statesmen regarding the policy formerly pursued by this excellent person, so long a time had been given for reflection, and such ample opportunity afforded of learning lessons from experience; and above all, when this question was entertained at the very moment that controversy raged the most vehemently upon the more recent measures of Lord Wellesley, there was no escaping the conclusion that an unhesitating judgment was pronounced in favour of the policy pursued in 1789 and the two following

years; and, for the reasons already referred to, this judgment could only be rested upon the realities of our situation in the East, with regard to the Mysore, its ruler, and our allies.

The peculiar circumstances which made Mysore so formidable a neighbour are known to all our readers. He ruled with absolute power over a highly fertile and populous country, of near two hundred thousand square miles in extent; whence he raised a revenue of five millions sterling a-year, and an army of 150,000 men. Although the latter were very inferior in effective force to European troops, the revenue was equal to as much in this country; and it was accumulated yearly in a treasure ready for the emergency of war, while his soldiers were rapidly improving in discipline, and becoming every day more formidable to meet ours upon equal terms. To his artillery he had given the greatest attention, and he had formed his corps of gunners and elephants, so that he could move a train of a hundred guns to any part of his country with a rapidity unequalled in those countries by any other power. To these great elements of strength must be added the daring, subtle, and politic nature of the man, one of the most remarkable that have appeared in modern times. His ferocious tyranny to his own subjects; his delight in religious persecution, which increased his power with the other bigots of his own

; his inextinguishable hatred of the English, he had from his cradle been taught to regard implacable enemies of his family—these, they undoubtedly form dark features in his character, augmented rather than lessened his influence in the peninsula, and made him an object of admiration to all whom his valour, perseverance, address, and patriotism—might fail to captivate. Although his Mussulman zeal alienated him from all European nations, yet did his still fiercer animosity against the English so far conquer or assuage his fanaticism as to make him court whatever power was consistent with our interests; and accordingly his endeavour was to gain the friendship and co-operation of France, from which he expected to derive the means of working our overthrow, and


of exterminating the British name in that

On the eve of the Revolution he had sent an embassy to Paris, with the view of forming an alliance for offensive purposes; and one of the ministers of Louis XVI. (Bertrand de Molleville) declared that a most tempting proposal was made to the servants of that unfortunate prince in 1791, in great secrecy, and which they were disposed to receive favourably; but that Louis regretted the consequences of his former interference in colonial affairs, and was then too bitter in regarding the fruits of it, to embark again in similar

enterprises, even supposing that the internal state of his dominions had left him the option.

There can, I conceive, be no manner of doubt that the war of 1789 with this powerful and placable enemy, though it effected a mighty diminution of his strength, yet left him more rancorous than ever in his hatred, and sufficiently strong to be regarded still as by far our most formidable neighbour. The cession of half his territories to the Company and its allies, the Nizam and Mahrattas, had been extorted from him by force, when many of his principal fortresses were taken, his capital closely invested, and an ~~ass~~ impending, the issue of which the preceding successes of our troops before the place made no less doubtful. Yet so bitter was the cup then held to his lips, that even in his extremity he flew from it, broke off the treaty, after two of his three eldest sons had been given into our hands as hostages, and prepared for a last effort of desperate resistance—when, finding that it was too late, that our position made the fall of Seringapatam inevitable, and that his utter destruction was a certain consequence of further refusal, he agreed to whatever was demanded, and, in the utmost bitterness of spirit, suddenly signed the instrument. Such a personage, in such a frame of mind, thus stripped of half his dominions, was very certain to turn the remainder into means of more persever-

inoyance, and only to desire life that he might, in some future day, slake his thirst of vengeance. The country which he retained was full of strong places, and bordered upon our dominions in the Carnatic by so many passes that Madras could hardly ever be reckoned secure from his attack. His territory was centrally situated, between our settlements upon the two coasts, so as to command the line that joined them. He still possessed his capital, a place of prodigious strength, and which he could again fortify as he had done before. His despotic power placed the whole resources of a rich country at his absolute disposal, and the six years that followed the peace of Seringapatam were actively employed in preparing for that revenge which, ever since the disasters of 1792, had been burning in his breast. This is what might naturally have been expected, and it was certainly found to have taken place. But the course of events had still further favoured his designs. The dissensions among the other native princes, and rebellions in the dominions of some, had greatly reduced their strength, while his kingdom had enjoyed a profound peace; and, unfortunately for the English interest, his chief ally, the Nizam, had been so much reduced in his strength and reputation by a disastrous war with the Peishwah, and by a very disgraceful peace which he had been compelled to make, that, regarded our relative position, the Mysore might almost said to have gained whatever had been lost



to the Deccan. The state of affairs in France, had materially changed since 1791. There was no longer the same indisposition to engage in a scheme of Indian aggression; and, although our superiority at sea made the arrival of French auxiliaries extremely difficult, it clearly appears that, before the expedition to Egypt, and independently of any basis which he might build upon its successful issue, or upon the permanent establishment of the French in that country, Tippoo had entered into communication with the government of the Mahratta for the purpose of furthering his favourite design of obtaining their assistance to revenge him upon the English settlements. The resort to French officers to his service had long placed at his disposal able engineers, as well as other military men: and his troops never were in so high a state of discipline, nor his army so well appointed in all respects.

But it was not merely in his own dominions that he had important help to expect from his French connexions. Other native princes had adopted the same policy, and our ally, the Nizam, more than any. He had a corps of 1500 men under M. Raymon, a French commander, who had served in the war of 1789, and this had since been increased to about 10,000, the officers of which were almost all French, and partook of the exasperation which unhappily at that time prevailed between the two countries, using every endeavour to undermine our influ-

derabad, and so little to be relied on in case
 services being required by our ally against
 o, that he might rather reckon upon them as
 than prepare to meet their hostility. Some
 had been felt upon this head in the campaign
 2; and although at that time the corps of
 and was comparatively insignificant in amount,
 nevertheless been deemed, even then, neces-
 o make the Nizam take into his pay two
 corps, one under an Irish, the other under
 merican officer, to serve as counterpoises to
 ench, upon the supposition that in the latter
 o had natural allies. In 1798, the Irish-
 battalion remained at Hyderabad, but num-
 no more than 800 men; the American's had
 isbanded, and had passed into the service of
 lahrattas; Raymond's, which had increased
 ch that it formed the bulk of the Nizam's
 was ordered by him to be still further rein-
 , and carried to 14,000. It was recruited,
 proportion of a third of its number, from
 rritories in the Carnatic, and by desertion
 our regiments; no pains were spared by its
 s to promote this spirit whenever its detach-
 were near the Madras frontier; and a con-
 correspondence was maintained by it with
 rench troops in Mysore. Its influence on
 ert of Hyderabad was so great as to alarm
 inister of the Nizam who was more than the

rest in the interest of England. Finally, Tippoo looked to an invasion of our northern provinces and those of our Mahratta allies, by Zemaun Shā the sovereign of Caubul, with whom he had open communication, and who had recently succeeded with but little opposition, in penetrating as far as Lahore, where he was stopped by some dissensions having broken out in his own dominions. The state of our affairs in Oude rendered that province a source of weakness, and compelled us to maintain an extraordinary force there. The Mahrattas had been extremely weakened by quarrels among themselves; and their chief state, that under the Peishwah, had been so crippled by a succession of internal revolutions, that in the event of being required against Mysore, little prospect was held out of any effectual co-operation from that quarter; while there, as in every court of India, the intrigues of Tippoo had been unremittingly employed to undermine our influence, and to set up direct hostility against us.

It was in this state of affairs that Lord Wellesley assumed the government of India. He arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, on his way out, in February, 1798. He deemed it expedient to open the India-House dispatches, which he met on their passage to Europe; and he found at the Cape, by a fortunate accident, Major Kirkpatrick, a gentleman of great experience and ability, as

ad been the British resident both at the court of Nizam and of Scindiah. The information

Lord Wellesley received regarding the state of Indian politics from him, and from the dispatches, appears to have immediately laid the foundation of the opinions which he acted upon throughout the difficult crisis that ensued. Indeed, there is nothing more remarkable in these transactions than the statements which he transmitted to the Cape. He evidently had there made his mind upon the line of policy which it was

to pursue, in order to restore the British influence among the native powers, to emancipate the colonies there from French influence, and to place them in circumstances that might enable them to maintain their independence and fulfil their engagements with us. The first and most important of his operations when he arrived in India—the one, namely, which enabled him to attempt all the rest—the reduction of the corps of Raymond; and he included in the dispatches from the Cape a very explicit statement of the necessity of this operation,

his determination to substitute for Raymond's an additional British force, and resolutely to prevent its increase until that substitution could be effected. The general outline of the policy which he afterwards pursued with respect to other powers is also very plainly sketched in these memorial dispatches from the Cape; and, as far

as regarded Tippoo, although at the time no information had reached Lord Wellesley or Government of any acts of hostility, or even any preparations for a rupture, the course of conduct fit to be held with respect to him was pointed out distinctly.—“My ideas on this subject,” says his Lordship, “are, that as on the one hand we ought *never to use any high language towards Tippoo, nor ever attempt to deny his smallest point of his just rights*, so, on the other, where we have distinct proofs of his machinations against us, we ought to let him know that his treachery does not escape our observation, to make him feel that he is within the reach of our vigilance.—At present it appears to me that he is permitted to excite ill-will against us when he pleases, without the least attempt on our part to reprehend either him for the suggestion, or the Court, to whom he applies, for listening to it.”

Lord Wellesley proceeded from the Cape of Good Hope to Madras, where he remained some weeks, in order to superintend the execution of the measures concerted to be pursued with respect to a change in the sovereignty of Tanjore. But it subsequ-

* It is a remarkable, and I believe an unexampled circumstance, showing how accurately Lord Wellesley's opinions and plans were formed, that whole pages of his Minute of August, at Calcutta, explaining his views, after they were perfected by a six months' residence in the country, are identical with the letters written by him at the Cape in February

ers that this visit was of material use in giving an accurate view of the character, talents, dispositions of the principal persons concerned in the government of that presidency. There are more striking documents among his dispatches than the letter containing an account of these persons which he sent to Lord Clive (afterwards Lord Cornwallis), the new governor, soon after his arrival; here can be no doubt that Lord Wellesley's personal observation of the individuals led him at once to detect the quarter from whence an attempt would be made to thwart his designs, and enabled him to counteract and to frustrate that attempt. Having incidentally adverted to this

it is fit that justice should be rendered to the conduct of the two principal persons at that time—Lord Clive and General Harris. No one can rise from a perusal of the Indian correspondence without forming a very high opinion of the remarkable good sense, and steady resolution to sacrifice all private feelings to the interests of the service, which guided the whole conduct both of the governor and commander-in-chief. Both of them appear at once to have felt and obeyed the influence of a superior mind when the plans of Lord Wellesley were unfolded to them. His firmness, indeed, his confidence in his own resources, his determination to carry through his own measures, were tempered on all occasions by the

greatest urbanity and kindness of demand towards those coadjutors. Nevertheless, persons of less good sense, and less devoted to the discharge of their duty, would have been apt to make difficulties upon occasions when serious hazards were to be encountered, and men of a mean disposition and a contracted understanding, would not have failed to play the part in which such persons commonly excel, prompted by envy, or even a preposterous jealousy, where the utter absence of equality makes it ridiculous—that of carping, and complaining, and repining, and creating difficulties; whereas those able and useful servants of the state showed as much zeal in executing the Governor General's plan as if all his measures had been their own.

About the beginning of June, soon after his arrival at Calcutta, Lord Wellesley received intelligence of a proclamation having been issued at the Mauritius by General Malartic, the French governor, and was furnished with a copy of the document. In the course of a fortnight its authenticity was proved beyond all doubt; and its importance was unquestionable. It announced the arrival of ambassadors from Tippon; his offer to the Executive Directory of an alliance, offensive and defensive, against the English power; his demand of assistance; and his engagement to declare war as soon as it should arrive, for the purpose of

pulling us from India; and it called upon the inhabitants of the colony to form a force, which could be transported to Mysore, and taken into the Sultan's service. It was ascertained that the ambassadors had given the most positive assurances of their master's name of his determination to act on the proclamation stated—had obtained the aid of a certain inconsiderable number of French officers and men—had returned with these in a French ship of war—and had presented them to Tippoo, who immediately took them into his service, having so received the ambassadors on their arrival with marks of distinction. His army was known to be on the footing of a war-establishment; that to say, it was constantly in the field, excepting the monsoon season, and amounted to between 10,000 and 80,000 men, beside a numerous and well-appointed artillery; and the discipline of the infantry, in particular, had been of late very carefully improved. His treachery, exceeding even the measure of perfidy proverbially common to eastern courts, had been displayed in the letters sent to the Government at Calcutta, both before and after Wellesley's arrival, and also to himself, some time on the very day when proceedings were going on in the negotiations with France. His intrigues with the native courts, and with Zemaunah, had likewise been discovered; and they all pointed to the same object—the attack of our

as should preclude all risk from his aggression; his plans should be matured, and he should receive the further assistance which he expected—which there was little, if any, reason to suppose he would agree to, after the agonies he had experienced from his losses in the last war. The plan which his Lordship had formed, in the event of hostilities, was to seize the Sultan's portion of the Malabar coast, by marching one army from Calicut bay; to move another force from the north upon Seringapatam; and thus compel him to give up that part of his dominions which was necessary to him to maintain his intercourse with France; to dismiss all French officers and men from his service; to receive residents from us and our allies, which he had, for obvious reasons, until then persisted in refusing; and to defray the expenses of the war. But upon examining the conditions

was so crippled as to make it impossible for a sufficient force to march upon Seringapatam. In the event of its success Lord Wellesley entertained no doubt that he wisely judged that it would be expedient in every view to undertake a war which would not, to a reasonable certainty, be concluded within the season.

Now let me claim the reader's best attention, and endeavour to lay before him a sketch of a remarkable combination of means by which the plan was not only successfully executed, the result, but by which its success appears to have rendered as nearly a matter of absolute certainty—anything in politics and in war can be seen that the designs of Tippoo were counteracted, and even the possibilities of frustrating our schemes were prevented by the effect of a systematic course of policy in almost every quarter of India, in the native courts as well as in our own settlements; that he was, as it were, surrounded in all directions, so as to cut off each means of escape; that he was guarded against invasions by which he might assail us, so as to be freed of all means of offence; that wherever he attempted to intrigue against us, there he found our eyes on the watch, and our influence fortified—by our common interests or common feelings—in the absence of a prospect of succour, there a watchful and vigilant care had neutralized those natural

ally, if it failed to make him an enemy.

And first of all, in order to estimate of the policy which we are going to pursue, it is requisite that a clear idea be formed of the situation in view. It was to reduce the Sultan's power, taking advantage next year of the calamities already given by him, unless he could be prevented in the mean time, to give the satisfaction and security required. But the army on the Madras establishment was incapable of defending that frontier, much more of acting against Mysore. The debt of the Company had trebled within a few years, and their credit was so low, that their paper was at a discount of eighty per cent.; and even twelve per cent. at a discount of four. The Nizam and the Marathas were our two allies, bound to act against the Sultan. But the former, as

erable time left his own country situated in the north, between the Jumna and the Nerbudda, the British post at Poonah, the Peishwah's capital. It became part of Lord Wellesley's object, without which the rest must fail, to restore the two powers to independence, and make the one, if not both, available to us, while the other should be suffered to act against us. Again, although himself was accessible to Tippoo's arts, yet for him some check must be provided. It was found that both he and the Peishwah were equally hostile to us; and Scindiah, in particular, by negotiation with the deposed Nabob of Oude, to overthrow our influence in the north, by restoring that prince, and dethroning the Nabob whom we had raised to the throne. Next, was the threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah, who had prepared to cross the Attock, and was within six weeks' march of Delhi, maintaining by his pondence a friendly intercourse with Tippoo, little likely to be opposed either by the Seiks or the Mahrattas. It became necessary, therefore, to direct the north against this double danger, both from the Shah and from Scindiah; from the former, Scindiah remained in the Deccan, abandoning his northern dominions to the invader; from the latter, the Shah either retreated or was repulsed by the Mahratta power. Add to all these difficulties, that it appears to have greatly disconcerted Lord

Wellesley at one moment, the prevailing despondency of leading men at Madras, who had formed so exaggerated an estimate of the danger attending a rupture with Mysore, through a recollection what the Carnatic had formerly suffered from proximity to the enemy, and had so lively a feeling of the weakness of their present establishment, that they arrived at a very singular and unfortunate opinion. They maintained that no preparation even of a prospective nature—no increase, even the means of defence—should be attempted, because no activity of exertion could enable them to resist the enemy, and any appearance of arming would only draw down upon them an immediate invasion.

Lord Wellesley's first proceeding was to put down with a strong hand the resistance which he met with on the part of those who held this extraordinary doctrine, and whose argument, as he most justly showed, against the prudence of preparing for defence, would become stronger every day. Tippoo's hostile preparations advanced, until length we should be reduced to the alternative either of implicit submission, or of being destroyed when and how the Sultan pleased. He therefore directed the army to be assembled in the Carnatic without delay; he showed in what consisted the want of efficiency complained of, and applied the remedy, by giving directions to alter the system of supplying draught cattle; he directed the

for a campaign to be prepared and established at the Mysore frontier; he made the Europeans as he moved to garrisons in the same quarter, and the native forces should be collected in the same place and ready to act in case of invasion; and he obtained a supply of specie from Bengal, together with such force of soldiers and marines as could be immediately spared. The resistance offered at Madras was met with temper, but with great firmness, by the Governor in Council at Madras.—“If,” say they, after referring to the instructions of the Council at Madras, “if we thought it proper to enter with you into any discussion of the policy of our late orders, we might refer you to the records of your own government, which furnish more than one example of the fatal consequences of neglecting to keep pace with the readiness of the enemy’s equipments, and of resting the defence of the Carnatic, in such a crisis as the present, on any other security than a state of constant and active preparation for war. But *being desirous to exclude all such discussions from the correspondence of the two governments*, we shall continue to repeat our confidence in your zealous and successful execution of those parts of the public service which fall within the direct line of your peculiar authority.”

Lord Wellesley, while this correspondence proceeded, had carried on the operation of most im-

and it proved the hinge upon which all
sequent measures turned. By negotiati
that prince and his minister, admirably
and ably conducted through Major Kir
a treaty was concluded for increasing the
subsidiary force, and disbanding the corps
commanded by Raymond, and since h
(which had lately happened) by Piron.
part of this treaty that the French officers
should be sent to Europe by the Comp
that no Frenchman should again be taken
Nizam's service. But the consent of
itself was to be obtained ; and it is needle
that his Lordship's design was to have this
asking for it. Accordingly, while the ne
was going on, the additional subsidiary
three thousand men was moved to the
Circâr, a portion of the Deccan ceded to
pany in 1778, and which lies near to H

hed. The greatest courtesy and kindness shown towards the officers, who were immediately embarked with all their property (their pay having been settled through the intervention of the English resident), and sent first to Cuttack, and afterwards to France, not being treated as prisoners of war. This most important step at once gave a new aspect to our affairs in the peninsula. The Nizam was restored to confidence, and became our firm friend; his resources were materially increased; for Lord Wellesley's protection of him against the Peishwah and the Marathas, if it did not enable him to resume that position which he had lost since the war of 1795, yet gave him the means of effectually aiding the British operations, and secured him from the possibility of becoming a prey either to Tippoo or his adjutors. But the effect of the change at Seringapatam was not confined to the Deccan—it was felt over India, and in our own settlements as well as at the native courts. The confidence in Lord Wellesley which it at once inspired gave a new impulse to his government which the mere possession of power never can bestow, especially where political as well as military operations are required; absolute command may extort implicit obedience, but the exertion of men's faculties, their talents as well as their courage, can only be fully elicited by filling them with zealous devotion to

their superior. The Governor-General had choice of excellent agents among the able and educated in the Company's service; he placed upon those who best deserved his confidence; gave it them freely; and their entire reliance upon his capacity and upon his support called for their most strenuous exertions on every occasion.

It must certainly be ascribed chiefly to change effected at Hyderabad, that he was enabled to prevent any unfavourable proceedings either on the Peishwah's part or on Scindiah's; for the intentions were of the most hostile nature.* Negotiations carried on with them for the purpose of preventing any junction with Tippon, and maintaining peace between them and the Nizam, were successful. But Scindiah could not be prevailed upon to quit the Deccan and return to his dominions; nor would the Peishwah so far as with Mysore as to dismiss the Sultan's ambassadors. The influence acquired at Hyderabad, and a force prepared at Bombay to assist either

* Considerable assistance was derived from a change in the ministry at Poona, brought about mainly by influence. But though Nana Farnavese, who was retaining power, was uniformly our friend, his master's disposition underwent no change; and after Lord Wellesley had peremptorily refused his proffered mediation, he was discovered to have taken measures for joining Tippon, but they were our demonstrations, referred to in the text, delayed and fell of that tyrant approached too close to make any action with him safe.

shwah or Scindiah against the other, shouldilities break out between them, and to connect both should they join against the Nizam, obtained the existing state of things until theurbances in Scindiah's own country, and the contents in the army he commanded, reduced power to insignificance; and thus the whole military operations against Mysore were carried on mately without any interruption from either of se chiefs.

n addition to the holds over Scindiah, which e just been mentioned, the threatened invasion Zemaun Shah afforded another. In order to tect the northern frontier, it became necessary end a large force, under Sir J. Craig, into the l, which remained on the frontiers of Oude il the Shah retired from the Seik's country, ich he had approached. This force was conued on the same line during the critical state of irs in the south; and it had, no doubt, a power-effect upon Scindiah, whose dominions lay osed to it, had he made any hostile movement he Deccan. The Rajah of Berar borders upon ndiah on another line, the south-eastern side. ordingly, negotiations were at the same time unenced with that prince, for the establishment e defensive alliance, in case of Scindiah breaking peace.

Ve thus perceive the great basis of the whole

This opposition I am resolved to crush ; sufficient powers to do so ; and I will exert powers to the extreme point of their extension than suffer the smallest particle of my public service to be frustrated by such means. With this view, my earnest request is that you will communicate to me, without the names of those who have arrogated to themselves the power of governing the empire committed to my charge ; the ignorance and weakness of the self-created government have already apprised you from the papers which I transmitted to you the 18th July.”*

At the date of this letter, 19th August,

* There can be, I conceive, no doubt, and very little, upon a calm review of the whole affair, the Government may have had as little, that those persons acted conscientiously in the discharge of what they conceived

tions at Hyderabad had so far succeeded, mainly, doubt, from the movement in the Guntoor rear, as to show the short-sightedness of the opposition in question; but the great event of the dismissing did not take place until two months more had elapsed. Lord Clive had now arrived at Madras, and he took the most steady and zealous part in seconding the Governor-General. Nevertheless, the existence of an opinion altogether unfavourable to Lord Wellesley's power among men of authority, and whose great experience was likely to render their opposition embarrassing during the *igni novitas* of Lord Clive, though it should fail to shake his purpose, rendered the personal presence of the Governor-General highly desirable; and he accordingly removed to Madras at the end of December, and there established the seat of government, leaving the affairs of Bengal to be administered in his absence by the Commander-in-chief Sir A. Clarke and the rest of the Council. But although his arrival at Madras had the effect, by law, of superseding Lord Clive, he most properly took the first opportunity of making a declaration, in the form of a minute in Council, that he should not interfere in any respect in the peculiar affairs of the presidency, or in anything relating to its patronage, civil or military; but should confine himself to the general interests of the empire, and act with regard to these as if he had continued at Calcutta.

The occupation of Egypt by the French, which had taken place during the preceding summer, and the communication which Lord Wellesley immediately foresaw would be established between Bonaparte and Tippoo (and subsequent events* prove that he had conjectured rightly), induced him to direct Admiral Rainier's fleet to watch the Malabar coast with great care, so that all assistance from the Red Sea should be cut off as far as a naval force could effect this object; and in case any armaments escaped the vigilance of the cruisers, the preparations taken on the coast by land must be resisted, and especially the operation of the Bombay army.

When the Sultan perceived that on all sides preparations were in a forward state against him, and found every native court occupied by Lord Wellesley's agents, he appears to have felt considerable alarm, though he carefully dissembled it for some time. A town and district had been some time before Lord Wellesley's arrival occupied by the Company, called Wynaad; Tippoo had made representations against this; it appeared to have originated in mistake; the subject was examined, and Lord Wellesley at once ordered it to be restored without any equivalent. Some other unimportant disputes were by both parties agreed to be terminated.

* Bonaparte's Letter to Tippoo was found some months afterwards on the taking of Seringapatam, with the other proofs of the Sultan's hostile proceedings.

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 l, in order that this might be arranged, he
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 s were actively making to increase every
 f the Mysore army.

12th Lord Wellesley transmitted to him on
 of January (1799) a letter, recapitulating
 e conduct and "once more calling upon

Still the crafty Sultan gave no answer, the continued his preparations ; and on the 7th ruary he dispatched a French officer as bassador to the Executive Directory, with a renewed proposition for an offensive and defensive alliance to make war jointly on the English to retake their territories, and expel them from India. At the same time with the dispatch of this letter he at length sent an answer, in which he said he was going upon a hunting excursion, and that he hoped Doveton might come to him, but unattended.

It was, however, now too late ; for on the 13th of February (the Sultan's letter not arriving till the 13th) Lord Wellesley had ordered the army to march upon Seringapatam, and commenced the siege without delay. Late, however, as the Sultan's consent to treat had been, and manifestly designed only to gain time for his military preparations, and, above all, to postpone our attack till the season for operations already far ad-

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labar, dismissing his French troops, and receiving
dents from the Company and the Nizam. The
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d to the terms of the negotiation, but embraced
various contingencies which might happen,
vided for almost every conceivable event, and
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per province of leading on the army and super-
nding its operations. After the march was
un, and when on the eve of entering Mysore,
General received a final instruction of a most
ortant description—he was on no account to
clude any treaty until a junction had been
cted of the Madras and Bombay armies, and
re was a fair prospect of successfully beginning
siege.

The General entered Mysore on the 5th March,
h an army said to be better equipped than any
t had ever taken the field in the Peninsula, and
ounting to about 22,000 men, of whom between
0 and 6000 were Europeans, the rest natives.
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iary force of 6000, and 16,000 of his own troops,
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l joined General Harris at Vellore, before he
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an amicable inquiry. But Lord Wellesley, at the opportunity of this correspondence, as soon as preparations were sufficiently advanced, to inform Tippoo that he was quite aware of his hostile designs at the Mauritius and elsewhere; that the British preparations had been made to repel aggression which might be attempted; but that he and his allies, being desirous of peace, were anxiously anxious to place their relations with the British upon a safe and distinctly understood footing, in order that this might be arranged, he invited Tippoo to receive an ambassador, whom he desired. This only produced an evasive answer, and a ridiculously false explanation of the interview with the Mauritius, and putting aside the subject of an embassy, but expressing boundless regret at the defeat of the French fleet by Lord Cornwallis, which Lord Wellesley had communicated to the British, and applying to that nation every epithet of insult and contempt, although it is now clearly proved that his despair on receiving the news of the defeat knew no bounds. Again Lord Wellesley urged the receiving of an ambassador, but a direct answer could be obtained, while preparations were actively making to increase every part of the Mysore army.

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having been fought by each army—both successful, yet by no means decisive. It is known that the Duke of Wellington, then Wellesley, commanded a brigade in this expedition, and distinguished himself by his military capacity which has since, on a larger theatre, shone forth with such extraordinary brilliancy. He was also placed by his brother at the head of the commission, judiciously formed for the purpose of conducting, under General Harris's authority, in constant communication with him and with the government, all political operations connected with the advance of the army, as well as the siege, and after its successful termination.

Never, perhaps, was an operation more successful in all its parts than this brilliant campaign. In a month Seringapatam was taken; the British falling while fighting in its defence with b

throne of a portion of their former dominions, at being divided among the Company, the a, and the Peishwah. There were found at rapatam papers confirming beyond a doubt ferences respecting his hostile designs, drawn Malartic's proclamation and the embassy to lauritus. But at the same time the cordence shows the deep perfidy which formed markable a feature in the character of this rn tyrant. An inextinguishable hatred of and breathes through the whole, animates the and mixes itself with the great body of the ents. This was plainly sincere. But his ment to the French Directory may not have quite so real, excepting in so far as they were emies of his foes. In addressing the "Citirepresentatives" he is ready to "acknowledge blimity of the new French Constitution," and rs its chiefs "alliance and fraternity." But es not prevent him from writing at the same to the Grand Signor and testifying "his less satisfaction on learning that the Turk is to free his regions (Egypt) from the conation of those shameless tribes" (the French), n exhorting him, "by word and deed, to repel abandoned infidels."

surveying the operations of the war, however, n comparing the Sultan's conduct of it with f the campaigns in 1789, 90, and 91, we can

inch of ground. Yet whether it be from
ness of the force brought to bear upon
from his chagrin at having failed in his
to put off the invasion till the monsoon
in; or from the discomfiture of all his
obtain the help of the native powers
disappointment of his hopes of French aid
certain it is, that we see none of those
daring movements which more than in
former contest, reduced our chances of
the possibility of escape, and made our fate
appear anything rather than a matter
calculation.

The conduct of the Mahratta war
expeditions against Scindiah and Peshwa
marked by the same great capacity
shone forth in the conquest of the Mysore
hostilities also offered an opportunity

which he formed with several powerful princes, and by which the important dominions of Arcot, Madras, the Nizam, and the Peishwah were placed under a real subordination to the English government. The perfidies of the native princes, their disposition to league against our power with the view of expelling us from India, their inclination to court a French alliance in order to gain this their favourite object, rendered it really unsafe to leave them in a state of entire independence. We had been compelled to interfere in their affairs and to regulate the succession to their thrones upon each successive discovery of designs hostile to us, thereby threatening our very existence, the subversion of all the fabric of useful and humane and enlightened polity which we had erected on the ruins of their own barbarous system, and particularly the destruction of the cruel despotism under which the five millions had formerly groaned. On each successive occasion, therefore, of this description, Lord Wellesley compelled the government which he installed to make a perpetual treaty by which a disciplined force under our own command was to be maintained at the expense of the native power, and the control of all state affairs, save what related to the palace and the family of the nominal sovereign, was to be vested in the British resident. The fall of Tippoo Sultan did not more effectually consolidate our Indian empire and secure it against

resigned his government in consequence of support being withdrawn, and was only enabled to retain his position at a most critical period of Indian history by the earnest intercession of Pitt's government, who gave him, as did I, a mouth with his characteristic courage, and firmness, their steady support.* However, however, can be more satisfactory, nor more creditable to the Company, as well as Wellesley's administration, than the opinion manifested by that body towards him, upon the publication of his Despatch in 1837, and it is fit that I extract its conclusion:—"To the eventful period of your Indian government the Court look back with common to their countrymen; and, anxious to see that their countrymen should have

holding the principles upon which the supremacy of Britain in India was successfully manifested, "under a combination of circumstances the most degree critical and difficult." With a hundred copies of the Dispatches were to be sent to the different Presidencies in addition to those already transmitted, "as containing information of incalculable value to the civil and military engaged in the diplomatic, legislative and military business of India."

A sum of 20,000*l.* was also on this occasion sent to Lord Wellesley. He had ever shown the contempt for money which with so few exceptions always marked great men. But even this was displayed on one memorable occasion.

He had given up to the army engaged in the conquest of Mysore his share, amounting to one-third of the booty which came to be distributed. This magnificent sacrifice is recited by the Company in the preamble of the present as one of its grounds.

It was not to conquest and to negotiation that Lord Wellesley's government confined its attention. He carried the same enlarged views to the improvement of the service, and to bettering the condition of the countless multitudes under his rule. The arts of peace occupied their due share of his attention; we have abundant proof in the establishment of the Calcutta College, the promotion of scientific researches especially into the natural

the suppression of sanguines, or human sacrifice, the vigour of this act, so characteristic of him, he was imitated by Lord William Bentinck and his ablest and best successors, whose ordinances at once put down the last remnants of an abominable and bloody superstition, the burning of widows on the graves of their husbands. In some of these measures, particularly relating to the Calcutta College and the Indian Army, he was as much thwarted by the Directors of the Company as in his foreign policy. That wary body denounced his measures as expensive to their treasury, they forgot to consider how greatly that treasury had been increased by those very operations of which they complained so bitterly. By his conquests and financial reforms, he had more than dou-

Company, always protesting against the addition of a foot to their territory, and denouncing the which trebled it, while they quietly took possession, without a murmur, of the gains thus secured, at once relieving their consciences by the purchase, and replenishing their purse by the spoil.* Lord Wellesley returned from his glorious administration at a very critical period in our parliamentary history. Mr. Pitt was stricken with a malady which proved fatal—a typhus fever, it is thought from some accidental infection, when his strength was reduced by the stomach complaints which he had long laboured under. He soon appeared a time when his friend might come to see

This, their last interview, was in the villa at Twickenham Heath, where he died within a few days.

Wellesley called upon me there many years ago; the house was then occupied by my brother-in-law, Mr. Eden, whom I was visiting. His Lordship showed me the place where these illustrious men met for the last time. Mr. Pitt was, then, much emaciated and enfeebled, but retained vigour and his constitutionally sanguine disposition; he expressed his confident hopes of recovery.

The detail into which I have entered on Lord Wellesley's Indian administration is due, not only to the importance of the subject, but to the authenticity of the materials.

He himself examined in 1836 the views which I had formed of this complicated subject, so little familiar to statesmen in this country; and he declared that they correctly represented his proceedings and his policy.

In the adjoining room he lay a corpse the week; and it is a singular and a melancholy stance, resembling the stories told of William the Conqueror's deserted state at his decease, that one in the neighbourhood having sent a man to inquire after Mr. Pitt's state, he found the door open, then the door of the house, and, answering the bell, he walked through till he reached the bed on which the body lay lifeless, the sole tenant of the manor which the doors a few hours before were thronged by crowds of suitors alike obsequious and voracious, the vultures whose instinct haunts the only of living ministers.

It can hardly be doubted that the party which Mr. Pitt would gladly have rallied under Lord Bute had there been among them a leader for the House of Commons. But to place Castlereagh or Mr. Canning in the combat their forces against the combined power of Mr. Fox, and Messrs. Grey, Sheridan, and Wilkes would have been courting signal defeat. Another course was chosen, and the King is said to have had early intelligence of Mr. Fox's day being numbered. He therefore waited patiently till the time came when he could obtain the object of his wishes, a restoration of the Tory party. First, he wished to have excited the Tories against the Whigs upon the failure of the negotiations into the Princess of Wales's scandal.

ould have availed himself of the strong of the English people against conjugal ct, and their dislike of the illustrious an object of his royal father's constant But before this plot had ripened he found cry of danger to the Church, and the feeling against the Irish Catholics, would rve his purpose, and serve it without risk al family. Accordingly, on this ground ed a quarrel upon his Whig servants; ceased for many a long year to rule the of the country.

t singular instance of George III.'s self- l and power of waiting his opportunity, r Mr. Fox's death, when he had doomed n mind the Whig ministry to perdition, e seeking eagerly the occasion to throw n, he allowed them to dissolve Parliament, ntailing upon himself the necessity of a ssolution within a few months.

Vellesley kept aloof from all these transac- ed his enemies, particularly a person of of Paul, whom he had at one time served wards refused to promote, attempted an nent. The failure of this scheme was d ended in new votes by large majorities, g of his Indian administration. But his sense of propriety hindered him, while achment was pending, from taking the ent on Mr. Fox's death, when he might, as

Spanish policy were, when made known, most familiar with the affairs of the Peninsula, a subject of wonder and of unmixed approval. I have heard Lord Holland and Mr. A. both of whom he freely corresponded with on such matters, declare that he was the person who had ever known who most impressed upon them the idea of a great statesman. Upon his resignation at the end of 1809, he was with some reluctance prevailed upon by the King to accept of the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, which he continued to administer till the beginning of 1812, when he retired on account of irreconcilable differences with Mr. Perceval. His narrow views of policy in all the departments of the state, his bigotry on the Catholic Question, his unflinching support of the Spanish war, rendered it impossible to remain longer his colleague.

ip, he continued to discharge his parliamentary duty, guided by the independent and en- principles which he had ever professed. t forward the Catholic Question in 1812, lost it by a majority of one, in a House e cause was deemed the most hopeless. he made a magnificent speech in support overnment, when he deemed the peace of try, and the safety of her institutions, d by the proceedings of the demagogue But while I acknowledged the ability he layed, and admired the youthful vigour many years, and years partly spent in elimes, had not been able to impair, I t avoid feeling that his old anti-jacobin ad been revived by sounds rather than , and that he had shaped his conduct un- onally, by assuming that the bad times of 1794 were renewed in our later day. enville's conduct was on this occasion the same remark. Not, however, that who most strenuously opposed the coercive had any doubt of the perils attending of unlimited public meetings. We felt ist lead to evil, and that, if unrestrained, end either in changing or in shaking the on. Lord Hutchinson, I well remember, owed his satisfaction that measures which me of pressing necessity had been taken

course taken by the Ministers, and we were persuaded that the accounts of treasonable co were greatly exaggerated, holding it cer how dangerous soever the very large might be, the plots sought to be connect them were hatched in the brains of spies-Government emissaries.*

In 1825 Lord Wellesley accepted the h of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His go was signalised by persevering attempts the emancipation of the Catholics, and course the object of bitter hatred and attack from the more violent of the Oran His recall took place upon the format Wellington ministry in 1828. When a of 1830 the Whigs came into office, h

* Mention having been made in the text of lesley's early anti-jacobin prejudices giving a

ed Lord Steward of the Household, and in
he resumed the Viceroyalty of Ireland, which
eld until the change of Government in 1834.
ren resigned at once his high office, not waiting
ie should be pressed by the new Government
tain it, as in all probability he would have

He held himself bound in honour to the
g party to retire upon their very unceremonious
ssal by King William. Steady to his party,
is actively engaged in preparing the opposition
ie Peel Ministry; arranged the important
ure of the speakership, the first blow which
Ministry received; and with his own hand
the resolution which on the 8th of April
ght it to a close. It cannot be affirmed that
Whig party was equally steady to him. On
accession to power, I have heard him say, he
ved the first intimation that he was not to
rn to Ireland from one of the door-keepers at
House of Lords, whom he overheard, as he
al, telling another person of my friend Lord
grave's appointment.

he secret history of this transaction is not yet
vn; and we are bound to disbelieve all reports
h the gossip of the idle, or the malice of the
ful, or the mistaken zeal of friends may pro-
te. Two things, however, are certain: *first*,
I Wellesley's removal from among the Whigs
at is, his not being re-appointed in April,
5—could not by possibility be owing to any

the least doubt of his great capacity for continuing as vigorous as ever, because I had before me a dispatch in which the head of Government, as late as the end of August, 1833, declares "the solving of the problem of Irish government to be a task every way worthy Lord Wellesley's powerful and comprehensive understanding;" adding, "You will not suspect of flattery when I say that in my conscience I believe there is no man alive more equal to such work, and more capable of effecting it than your Excellency"—*secondly*, falsehood never assumed a more foul or audacious form than in the eulogies lavished upon the new Government at the expense of Lord Wellesley's Irish administration. The Government, it was said, never would have passed the Coercion Act of 1833! Indeed! But the Coercion Act came from Lord Melbourne's office, when as Home Secretary he presided over the Irish department; the only mitigation of the Act having been effected by the Government in 1834 on Lord Wellesley's suggestion. The successor of Lord Wellesley, it was also said, for the first time administered the Government fairly and favourably towards the Catholics. Indeed! Lord Wellesley first brought forward Catholicism in the higher offices in the law, and continually proposed measures in their favour, which for one reason or other were never carried into effect. There are two classes of persons who make

d with shame upon reading such passages as following, extracted from his Lordship's dis- of September, 1834; the vile calumniators ord Wellesley as never having given the lies fair play, and those who suffered their ters to varnish over their weakness by an ous contrast of their doings with his, profit- the constantly repeated falsehood that they the first who ever treated with justice the sors of a religion to which the bulk of the belonged. "I think it would be advisable his Excellency) to open three seats on the d bench, and to take one of the judges from oman Catholic bar. This would give the st satisfaction to the whole Roman Catholic

Your lordship, I am convinced, will concur ne in opinion that the Roman Catholics of d have never yet been admitted to the full : of the laws passed for their relief. Entitled / to admission into almost any office in the they have been, and are still, practically ed from almost every branch of the executive istration of the Government. The few ad-

into the station of assistant-barristers, or ie police, only serve to mark the right to ion, without any approach to an equitable ution of official benefit. It is impossible to e that a whole nation can repose confidence, cordially with a Government when so large ion of the people are practically excluded

correction of this defect; and for this
submit to your lordship's judgment th
pedient to admit a certain proportion
Catholics into the privy council, to th
the higher stations of the law, to oth
civil offices, and to increase their num
police and in other establishments. Th
should be commenced at the same tim
new legal appointments, which would b
part of it. I would also appoint som
Catholics of distinction to the privy cou
would be a commencement which I can
assure your lordship would be safe and
factory to the whole Roman Catholi
Ireland." He then encloses a list of th
Catholics whom he recommends, and
affirmative answer, that he "may i
make the necessary official applications t

from the responsibility of having neglected so
 a communication. When the Ministers
 Cabinet at the end of October, they had
 time left, before their dismissal, to mature
 in such as that which Lord Wellesley so
 ly recommended; but some of those Minis-
 are of that plan, must have felt that they re-
 a strange piece of good fortune, if not of very
 justice, when they found themselves all of a
 , in May, 1835, zealously supported by the
 ers of Lord Wellesley, and upon the express
 of their being just to the Catholics, whom
 I never thought of relieving. I have re-
 y, in my place, while these Ministers were
 and in power, denounced the gross injustice

e scandalous falsehood of those their sup-
 , who professed to prefer them to Lord

Government and mine, because we had
 a Coercion Bill which had the entire con-
 ce and the cordial support of the very
 ers now declared to be incapable of suffering
 measure; and I have expressed my astonish-
 hat any class of men could submit to receive
 t upon such grounds, without at once declar-
 at the blame and the praise were alike falsely
 ed; but I was not on these occasions aware
 extreme to which this falsehood was carried,
 ured Lord Wellesley's administration, and
 not till now informed of the extraordinary.

see vehement and unceasing attacks made
minister or a statesman, perhaps not in t
service, for something which he does not
defend or explain, resting his claims t
fidence of his country upon his past exer
his known character ! Yet these assaul
remittingly made upon him, and the peop
that so much noise could not be stirred u
something to authorise it. Sometimes t
of the calumny are silent from disdain, a
from knowing that the base propagators
only return to their slander the more eag
their conviction of falsehood ; but somet
the silence may be owing to official rese
here see in Lord Wellesley's case a most r
example of that reserve. All the while

minators of slander were proclaiming him as doing the Catholics—him who had been the to move, and within a hair's-breadth to obtain, emancipation in the Lords, the stronghold their enemies—all the while that they were tinging his successors at his expense, by daily repeating the false assertion that they for the first time conceived the just and politic plan of removing every obstruction arising from religion to a free enjoyment of the public patronage—all the while that they were placing the Melbourne Ministry upon a pinnacle, as having first adopted this liberal system of government—there lay in the government repositories the original (in Lord Wellesley's the copy) of a dispatch, explaining, recommending, enforcing the necessity of that measure, and stating his desire to carry the plan into immediate execution, when the return of the king's messenger should bring the permission, which he solicited so earnestly, of his official superiors. If that permission was delayed for six months, until the Ministry was changed,

Lord Wellesley followed them into retirement, at least was not to be blamed for the mischance; for eight years did he remain silent under those charges—for eight years did the Ministry maintain the same silence under the support which those charges brought them—nay, with the parliamentary privileges which those charges daily afforded them ;

posite to the fact.

The excellence of Lord Wellesley's speech has been mentioned. The taste which he has derived from study of the great Greek exemplars, above all tinsel and vulgar ornaments, has led him jealously hold fast by the purity of the language; but it had not taught him the conciseness; and he who knew the *Περικλέους* by heart, and always admitted its unmatchable superiority to the Second Philippic and the *Milone*, yet formed his own style after the Roman model. That style, indeed, is considerably diffuse; and the same want of compression, the same redundancy of words, accompanied, however, by substantial though not needless sense, was observable, though not so observable, in his poetical pieces, which

in its true colours and real dimensions; he at glance espied the path, and the shortest path, led to it; he in an instant took that path, and shed his end. The only prolixity that he ever into was in explaining or defending the proceedings thus concisely and rapidly taken. To some addition was not unnaturally made by dignity which the habits of vice-regal state were natural to him, and the complimentary style which, if a very little tinctured with Orientalism, was very much more the result of a kindly generous nature.

I have felt precluded from indulging in general description by the intimacy of my intercourse with

great statesman, and I have accordingly kept promise to the reader of letting the narrative of his actions draw his portrait; but it would be just to omit all mention of that lofty nature which removed him above every thought of personal interest, and made him so careless of all worldly considerations, that I verily believe he spent great fortunes without ever having lost a farthing play, or ever having indulged in any other excessive vice. His original embarrassments, and in these he never was relieved, arose entirely from his generously paying his father's debts.* He

The Corporation of Dublin unanimously voted him freedom in token of the admiration which this conduct excited.

was exceedingly fond of glory, and loved the fame that should follow such great deeds; but he had no kind of envy, no jealousy of other men's greatness; and a better proof hardly be given of his magnanimity than the extreme warmth of the praise which he lavished profusely on all the great commanders whom he employed. He earnestly pressed, but it is strange to say, vainly pressed, even their promotion to peerage sixteen years before it took place, without ever harbouring a thought of the tendency which their elevation might have to eclipse his own in vulgar eyes.

Nothing could be more gentle and affectionate than his whole disposition; and during his leisure years, next to his books, nothing so refreshed his mind as the intercourse with those friends in whose society and converse he delighted. It is impossible for me to revise this paper and not have present to my mind, and again submitted to my admiration, the brilliant and successful administration of another most valued friend. Need I name him whose name is inscribed on the latest page of Eastern history, Lord Ellenborough? The reader of the foregoing pages will at once recognise the congenial spirit of these two great governors.

LORD HOLLAND.

every mournful reflection for me that, much might have expected the sacred duty to devolve on me of paying a just tribute to Lord Wellesley's memory, I should also be called to contemplate the excellence of one whom I might far have looked to survive, and whose loss made

friends feel that the value of their own lives was now greatly impaired. It may be doubted if there has ever been an individual who had so few enemies, so many attached friends, as Lord Holland; and no individual who could better deserve the universal admiration of which he was the object.

His early succession to the peerage at a very early age, and his father's death, prevented him from ever sitting in the House of Commons, and thus passing through the best school of English statesmen. His own severe illness, while yet at Eton, gave great alarm to Mr. Fox, a double alarm; for he was nearly on the point of losing a nephew whom he regarded as if he had been his only child, but ran no imminent risk of being taken from the House

of Commons in the zenith of his fame as a debater and a party chief. He was then in the North of Italy; and the messenger from Devonshire House commissioned to summon him home on account of the King's illness, met him at Bologna. Mr. Fox had received intelligence of Lord Holland's dangerous illness; and the alarm occasioned by the appearance of the courier was speedily changed into despair by a few words which he dropped intimating that "he must be dead by this time." Great was Mr. Fox's relief and joy, probably in more ways than one, upon finding that the messenger was the person alluded to. Many years after this period I saw his banker at Vicenza, who had been acquainted with the circumstance of Mr. Fox's alarm; and I was much struck with the familiar notion of this great man's celebrity, which seemed to have reached that remote quarter, at a time when political intelligence was so much less diffused than it has been since the French Revolution. The banker mentioned having given professional proof of his respect for the great man, as he had cashed a bill for the expense of his journey home, though there was no letter of introduction presented; "but I knew him," said the Cambray banker, "by the prints." The rapid journey home to the fray then raging in the House of Commons laid the foundation of the liver complaint, which eighteen years later ended in dropsy, and termin-

his life; but he was relieved on his arrival from all anxiety upon account of his nephew, whom he found perfectly restored to health.

Lord Holland went to Christ Church on leaving Eton; and passed his time more gaily than studiously, the companion of Mr. Canning, Lord Carlisle, and Lord Granville. But, like them, he laid both at school and college a broad foundation of classical learning, which through his after-life he never ceased successfully to cultivate.

Upon entering the House of Lords he found the prospects of the Whig party as gloomy as it was possible to contemplate. Before they had nearly recovered from the effects of the ill-starred coalition, their dissensions among themselves upon the great questions of the French Revolution and the war had split them in twain, leaving some of their most powerful families, as the houses of Cavendish, Bentinck, and Wentworth, and some of their most eminent leaders, as Burke, Windham, Loughborough, and North, to join the now irresistible forces of Mr. Pitt. Their Parliamentary strength was thus reduced to a mere fraction of the already diminished numbers that had survived the defeat of 1784; and the alarm, not by any means unnatural or unfounded, which the progress of the French arms, and the excesses of the Revolution, had excited throughout the country seemed to

marshal all the friends of our established institutions, whether in Church or in State, and even all men of property and all men of sound and moderate opinions, against those who were branded with the names of revolutionists, levellers, un-English, friends and disciples of the French. For the first time the Whig party, essentially aristocratic as it always had been in former ages, in some sort alien to all popular courses, and standing mainly upon patrician influence against both the court and the multitude, as it had proved itself in its very last struggle for power, had become mixed up with the very extremes of popular enthusiasm, extremes from which the people, even the middle orders, were very averse; and which were only favoured by the two classes, alike void of influence in the practical affairs of State, the philosophic few and the more vulgar. For the first time, they who had ever been reformers on the most restricted scale were now fain to join the cry for unlimited reforms, both in the Parliament and of all our institutions. The leaders might retain their ancient prejudices in favour of aristocracy and against reform, and might continue their Parliamentary efforts to exposing the misconduct of the war, endeavouring to restore peace and resisting the measures of coercion adopted by Mr. Pitt unconstitutionally to protect the existing constitution. But the bulk of the party became

re or less connected with the reformers, and in the few who in the House of Commons still adhered to the standard of Mr. Fox were for the most part imbued with the reform faith. The big party indeed was then wofully reduced in strength. Mr. Pitt could with certainty carry whatever measures he propounded; and at length, after wasting some years in fruitless attempts to limit his power, having been able to muster no more than 53 votes against suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, 38 for putting an end to the war, and for censuring the illegal act of misapplying the money voted by Parliament, the Opposition, wearied of impotent efforts and impatient of unvaried defeat, retired from their attendance in Parliament, retaining the seats, and refusing to perform the duties of representatives.

It was at this most inauspicious period in the whole Whig history, that Lord Holland entered the House of Lords, where there could hardly be said to remain even the name of an Opposition party. He joined himself, however, to the few supporters of his uncle's principles still to be found there lingering on the Opposition benches,—Lord Lauderdale, the Duke of Bedford, occasionally the late Lord Lansdowne, whose connexion with Lord Holland, and steady opposition to the war, had more well nigh reconciled him with the party, though he always took a line more guided by

general principles of policy, and more enlarged its views, than suited the narrow-minded notions of factious men.

Lord Holland's course was now, as ever thro his whole public life, one which did equal honour to his head and to his heart. The vigilant enemy of abuses; the staunch supporter of the constitution as established in 1688; the friend of peace abroad and of liberty all over the world; the champion especially, of religious liberty and the sacred rights of conscience, and that upon sound principles of universal freedom, not from any tinge of fanaticism from which no man, not even his illustrious kinsman, was more exempt;—he soon obtained the respect in Parliament, and that general estimation among reflecting men in the country, which the mere exhibition of great talents can never command, and which is only to be earned by honest consistency in pursuing a course commendable by its wisdom, or by its sincerity extorting applause from those who disapprove it. During the period of above five and forty years that he continued before the eyes of his countrymen, sometimes filling high office, more frequently engaged in opposition to the Court and the Ministry of the day, it is certain that whensoever any occasion arose of public utility to the great cause of toleration, the alarmed and persecuted instinctively turned first of all to Lord Holland as the refuge of the persecuted; and as often as

stitution in any other respect was endangered, any bad, exclusive, illiberal policy placed in jeopardy our character abroad and the interests of the world,* to him, among the foremost, did the supporters of a wise and catholic policy look for countenance and comfort in their efforts to arrest the course of evil.

For a higher praise still he was justly entitled—the praise of extraordinary disinterestedness in all questions of colonial policy. In right of Lady Holland, and a great Jamaica heiress, he was the owner of extensive possessions cultivated by slave-labour; there was no more strenuous advocate of the abolition both of the slave trade and slavery; and for Lord Holland herself, the person more immediately interested in the continuance of those enormous estates, had too much wisdom and too much virtue to interpose the least difference of opinion on his important subject.

Although he naturally felt towards his uncle all that I may state what I firmly and with knowledge believe, Lord Holland, in the lamentable defection from the cause of peace which was made by the Whig Government in 1800, was with the greatest difficulty prevented from resigning his office, and leaving the Ministry to prosecute, without the countenance of his high name, their disastrous course. Were I to add that his actual resignation was known to his colleagues, I think I should be guilty of no exaggeration. That he afterwards, during the short residue of his life, regretted not having persisted in this course, I believe.

the warmth of filial affection, and looked up to with the singular reverence with which men of extraordinary celebrity and extensive public influence are regarded by their family, he was well above the bigotry which suffers no tenet or object to be questioned, and the enthusiasm well dazzled by shining merits, is blind to undeniable faults. Not only was he ever ready to admit that the taste for play had proved ruinous to Mr. Pitt's political fortunes, as well as his private—ascrived indeed, fully more to its evil influence than could justly be charged upon it, for he was wont to say that this alone had prevented him from becoming Minister of the country—but he avoided severe prejudices and tastes, if we may so speak of political errors, in which that great man indulged to the serious injury of his understanding and his accomplishments. Thus Mr. Fox, like General Pitt-Rivers, Mr. Hare, Lord John Townsend, and others of that connexion, greatly undervalued the talents and pursuits of the Scotch, holding the Irish as infinitely their superiors, and not estimating the importance of the sterling good sense, the patient seeking after truth, and the reluctance to deviate from it in their statements, which, and justly, the Scotch are famous. Lord Holland had no such prejudice: on the contrary he greatly preferred the men of the North, and had no disinclination to their peculiar pursuits.

metaphysics and their political economy, their
ess after facts, their carelessness of fancies,
addiction to the useful, their disregard of the
. In the speeches of Mr. Fox and his school—
, of course, excepting Mr. Burke—it was easy
erve a want of information upon many sub-
vell worthy the attention of statesmen, and
orance of which may indeed be held fatal to
character for profound and enlarged views of
. They were well read in history, deeply
in the principles of the constitution and its
ing, and acquainted (Mr. Fox himself espe-
) with the policy and interests of foreign
; but to these subjects, and to the debates in
ment of former times, their information was
ed; while Lord Holland scarcely ever ad-
d the House of Lords without showing that
s both a scholar in the best sense of the word,
ad formed an acquaintance with various
hes of knowledge which are far too much
cted in the education of English gentlemen.

everything relating to religious controversy
as in a particular manner well informed. His
nce, too, in Spain at different times had filled
ind with an accurate and detailed knowledge
of the history and the literature of the Penin-
and generally of the South of Europe. The
d hospitality which he exercised at home,
ing Holland House the resort not only of the

most interesting persons composing English society, literary, philosophical, and political, but also of those belonging to those classes who ever visited the country from abroad, served to maintain and extend his acquaintance with whatever regarded the interests of Europe.

Lord Holland's powers as a speaker were of a very high order. He was full of argument, when he could pursue with great vigour and perfect closeness; copious in illustration; with a clear and pure diction, shunning, like his uncle, everything extravagant in figure and unusual in phrase. Often, like him, led away by an ingenuity, and by him not unfrequently led to take a trivial view of a subject, and to dwell upon some small matter which did not much help on the business in hand, but always keeping that in view, and making no sacrifice to mere effect. Declamation—solemn, sustained declamation—was the forte of neither, although occasionally the uncle would show that he could excel in that also, as Raphael has painted perhaps the finest fire-light piece in the world, and Titian the noblest landscape. Neither made any pretence to gracefulness of action, and both were exceedingly deficient in voice, the nephew especially, as he had little of the redeeming quality which his uncle occasionally penetrated and thrilled his audience with those high and shrill notes which proceeded from him when, heated with his subject,

overpowered both his own natural hesitations and the faculties of his hearer. In Lord Holland hesitation was so great as to be often painful, instead of yielding to the increased volume of his matter, it often made him breathless in the midst of his more vehement discourse. He was in command of himself; and, seeming to be at ease, he was apt to lose the command of his audience. The same delicate sense of humour which distinguished Mr. Fox he also showed; and that exquisite Attic wit, which formed so effective a portion of that great argumentation, never uselessly introduced, but adapted nicely to the occasion, always aided as it were, clinching the reasoning.

Accomplished as he was for the rhetorical part of his health, and a kind of indolence common to his family—perhaps, too, their disdain of all but natural eloquence—allowed him to perform more, it is difficult to say how high he might have reached among orators. No one could any day have been surprised to see him deliver some great speech of equal length to those of the illustrious kinsman whom he resembled. It was once said by Lord Holland on hearing him make, off-hand, a great display of argumentative power, “I shall complain to the Black Rod: why did he not bring Fox into custody last night? What

the deuce business has a member of the other House to come up and make his speeches here?"

Of a Cabinet to which, by a singular combination of unlikely chances, he and the other Whigs belonged for eleven or twelve years, he was an efficient member. The places which he held (Privy Seal, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster) had, especially the former, little duty attached to them. He administered the Duchy, however, with the greatest purity and impartiality; and when one of my legal reforms at one sweep cut off a third of his emoluments (above a thousand a-year), far from making the least resistance, any more than he did to the abolition of slavery, which soon after cost him twice as much, he stated his opinion to be entirely favourable to the change, and only said he was fortunate in having so long held the larger part of it. As a Minister, however, it is in the Cabinet that his merit must chiefly be estimated; and I can vouch for his having been, in all branches of the King's service, a most useful and excellent colleague. He was perfectly open and frank when he differed in opinion; quite candid, and free from prepossession in favour of his own views; full of information, especially on questions of foreign policy, and on those regarding the constitution perfectly firm and resolute, when bold measures were to be taken. In occasions of this description, the four years that we passed together as colleagues

re abundantly fruitful, and he never was found wanting. He loved the excitement of office; he was, from his excellently kind disposition, the disinterested patron of patronage; but he was also very sincerely anxious for the opportunity of promoting his political views, and especially of furthering the cause of liberty everywhere, and maintaining that peace to which it is inseparably wedded. Hence he was more anxious to retain office, and more averse to the loss of it, than was always quite consistent with the high principles which he professed; and thus he made himself a party to the unconstitutional Government which, most injuriously to the country, and fatally to the interests of the Whig party, persisted in clinging to place for two years after all power in Parliament, all influence with the country, had departed from them, and nothing remained to prop up the crumbling edifice but the shadow of Court favour, now for the first time embraced as the shelter of a Whig Government in public indignation.

In part, possibly in great part, this misconduct of the Whig Ministry for the two years that followed May, 1839, is to be accounted for, certainly not excused, by their dread of facing the numerous placemen and place-hunters with whom they, like every other Government, were beset. In London, and in corporate towns, there were of course swarms of sycophants, hatched by the sunshine of Court favour,

and whose only dreams were of being enabled the prolonged existence of the Cabinet, those already placed to continue battenning on the public care those only in expectancy to wriggle themselves into a share of it. These it was hard to face and thwart. The same influence, or the same fear offending adherents, occasioned undoubtedly the other most reprehensible act, an act, too, so hurtful to the Liberal party, the dissolution in 1801. Who can for a moment believe that the Ministers themselves expected to obtain anything like a majority in the new Parliament? Then what possible right had they to make their Sovereign dissolve in order to increase the difficulties of those, her servants, who were to be their successors in office? This they well knew; and of this I warned them by private remonstrance, as indeed I took the liberty of humbly counselling my gracious Sovereign upon the measure, thereby discharging my duty as a Peer of Parliament. But "the press from without" was too powerful. Some score members fancied their seats would be more secure were their own friends in office during the general election, than if that event happened when their adversaries were in power; and to their importunate clamour the Ministers were fain to yield. For this I find it far more difficult to give any excuse to Lord Melbourne's part, than for his proceedings in May, 1839, because I know the excellent man

my old and valued friend too well to doubt that retaining office then arose from a feeling, a taken one certainly, of duty to the person of the king. It may be unpleasant for any Minister to part the views of persons as active as they are insignificant in all respects save their power of being troublesome. But then it is his most sacred duty to disregard their buzz. No man in office, no leader of a party in this country, whether in the possession of power or in the pursuit of power, can be without the courage to face and to resist his adversaries; this is every ordinary daring indeed. But he is utterly unfit to hold office, or to lead a party, who has not the higher and nobler courage to face and to resist the clamour of his followers, and to hold his path onward regardless of their clamour, alike immovable from his principles and stable resolves by the sordid howl of the demagogue, or the louder shout that proceeds from the multitude—from the *ardor civium prava jubentia*. To all who flinch from this I could read innumerable lessons in the striking contrast afforded by the official conduct, but indeed by the whole public life, of my dear and venerated friend Lord Grey, whose absence from the scene of debate has lately been so deeply lamented by every lover of his country, to whatever class or party he might belong.

Lord Holland's literary pursuits were varied and successful; for without giving much of his mind to public position, his 'Life of Lope de Vega,' and one

or two other productions, have a rare degre
 cellence. The style is animated and class
 narrative clear; the remarks sagacious and
 the translations executed with a closen
 fidelity, and at the same time a poetical
 that place him in the highest rank of tra
 for instead of giving, like some manglers
 a rugged version as literal as it is unpoeti
 affording not a glimpse of the awful Flo
 figure, we have in Lord Holland's masterly
 ance a poem closely literal, rendering
 Spanish itself and almost in the same
 of words, while it is as much imbued with
 as if it were originally English. To execu
 a work as this is extremely difficult, and t
 cends the power of him who fancies he ca
 late because he knows the foreign languag
 out possessing any mastery over his mother
 It is a difficulty superadded to that of the
 and to that of the rhyme; and according
 few have ever vanquished it. Dryden* and

* There is not more poerty in Lucretius's des
 hell than in Dryden's version, but it is not like
 Nor is there so much poetry in Virgil's

"Hic ver perpetuum atque alienis mensibus s
 as in Sotheby's

"Here spring perpetual leads the laughing l
 And winter wears a wreath of summer slo
 But the beauty lies in adding a flower to the
 Lord Holland and Mr. Roscoe do not so treat thei
 and their reader; nor does Mr. Carey; but the

etical, without being close to their divine
als; Cōwper unites more of the two qualities
ither of them; Lord Holland and Mr. Roscoe
at the head of the class; and all that can be
an impeachment of this title is, that their
have only been directed to small pieces of
, and that on a larger scale they might not
been equally successful. I have mentioned
Holland's *forte* as a poet; but he wrote seve-
ginal pieces; and I remember his showing me
olitical sonnets in the manner of Milton (the
English sonneteers) which appeared, at least
ndifferent a judge as myself, possessed of very
merit. It is remarkable that, like his uncle,
h so fond of poetry, he had no relish for the
d art, the other branch of harmony. Music
ositively disagreeable to them both—a remark-
istance of Shakspeare's extravagant error in a
nown passage of his plays.

prose compositions were distinguished by the
severe taste, and the same strict regard to the
of his English diction, which Mr. Fox is by
certainly not by me, thought to have cherished
ess. But Lord Holland's prose style had still
merits. It was luminous, animated, flowing,
ee from the defect under which his illustrious
e's certainly laboured, not that which he him-

l English as well as literal version; Mr. Carey's
ng like poetry, nor very English.

self was afraid of, its resembling a speech, for it wholly avoided by running into the opposite extreme; it was somewhat stiff and constrained, tokening a want of practice in writing, and at same time a fear of writing too naturally and easy as he spoke; for nothing can be more easy flowing and graceful than the style of Mr. F letters. Lord Holland's prose style had all grace and flow: it may be well judged of, not by his 'Life of Lope de Vega,' but by his excellent 'Preface to Lord Waldegrave's and Lord Orford's Remains,' and, above all, by the admirable prose which he entered upon the Lords' journals, and the publication of which in a volume Mr. Moore has rendered an acceptable service both to politics and letters.

After all, it was in his private and domestic society that Lord Holland's principal charm lay. His man's conversation was more delightful. It was varied, animated, passing "from grave to gay, from lively to severe;" full of information, chequered with the most admirable vein of anecdote, but also with deep remark, and aided by a rare power of mimicry never indulged in a way to offend by its harshness. Whoever had heard him represent Lord Thurlow or the late Lord Lansdowne, or the famous Duke of Brunswick, or George Selwyn, little needed lament not having seen those celebrated personages. His advice was excellent; he viewed w

calmness the whole circumstances of his life consulted him ; he foresaw all difficulties with intuitive perception and piercing sagacity ; he threw his whole soul into discussion ; and he was entirely free from the taint of selfishness as of prejudice in the choice which he gave. The great delight of those who approached him was certainly in the amiability of his heart, and of a temper so perfectly and so perseveringly mild, that nothing could offend for an instant, nor any person, nor any event, make the least impression upon its surface. Many tempers are equal and placid in appearance, but then this calm results from being cold ; the waters are not troubled, beneath their surface is frozen. Lord Holland's temper was the contrary, like his uncle's, was warm, cheerful, lively, animated. Yet I knew him intimate for five-and-thirty years, during a portion of which we had political and even party differences. I had during the most of these years almost constant intercourse with him ; I can positively assert that though I saw him often sorely tried, and fear that he is now and then among those who tried him, he never for one moment perceived that there was in his composition the least element of anger, spite, bitterness, or revenge. In my whole experience of human nature I never saw such a temper, nor anything that at all resembled it.

His was the disposition of the Fox family. They have a noble and lofty character; their nature generous and humane. Selfishness, meanness, craft are alien to their whole composition. Open, manly, confiding, combining the highest qualities of the understanding with the best feelings of the heart, and marked throughout by the innocent simplicity of infancy; no wonder that they win the affection of all who approach them—that is to say, who approach so near and know them so long as to be familiar with them—for both Mr. Fox and his nephew had the manners, somewhat repulsive at first, of patrician life; and the uncle, especially, was for a while even severely forbidding to strangers. It must be added that their aristocratic propensities were not confined to manner; they had the genuine Whig predilection for that kind of support, as regarded, perhaps justly regarded, the union of great families as absolutely necessary to maintain the popular cause against the Court. Mr. Fox, however, went a little farther; and showed some complacency in naming highly-born supporters than might seem altogether to consist with a popular tone, or with the tenets of a philosophical statesman. It is to be added that with the simplicity of an infantine nature, they had the delicacy as regards their affections, of that tender age. Their feelings were strong, but not deep; the impressions made on their heart were passing, and

effaced. I have often rallied and sometimes con-
 strasted with my friend on this peculiarity,
 when I saw him as I thought regarding men rather
 through the eyes of a naturalist than a brother, and
 never taking an interest in observing their habits
 or marking their peculiarities, than feeling as
 simply as their relation to us required.* But with
 these imperfections (how trifling compared to his
 virtues!) it is painful to think he is gone for ever;
 and cruel to survey the blank he has left. Once
 more one is forced mournfully to exclaim,—“Eheu!
 quanto minus est cum aliis versari quam tui me-
 uisse!”

It would be a very imperfect account of Lord
 Holland which should make no mention of the
 friend who for the latter and more important part
 of his life shared all his thoughts and was never a
 step apart from him, Mr. John Allen; or the loss
 which in him the world of politics and of science,
 and still more, our private circle, has lately had to

One of the most able and learned men whom I have
 known, and one of the most sagacious observers, Mr.
 P. Smith, who read these pages, and well knew Lord
 Holland, with whom he was nearly connected by marriage,
 when he acknowledged the general accuracy of the portrait
 I had drawn, objected to this portion, unless an addition were
 made, in which I entirely concur, that after ever so long an
 absence from any of his friends his warmth of affection
 remained, and was as great as before the separation.

deplorable—another blank which assuredly cannot be filled up. He was educated at Edinburgh as a physician, and stood far at the head of all his contemporaries as a student of the sciences connected with the healing art; but he also cultivated most successfully all the branches of intellectual philosophy and was eminent in that famous school of metaphysics, for his extensive learning and his unrivalled power of subtle reasoning. For some years he lectured most ably on Physiology, but before entering on practice he accepted an invitation to attend Lord Holland's family, during the peace of Amiens, on their journey first to France, then to Spain, where they remained till the year 1805. The materials which he collected in the latter country, for a complete account of it, both historical and statistical, were of great extent and value; and a considerable portion of the work was completed when the pleasures of political discussion, united with the natural indolence of his habits as he advanced in life, occasioned him to lay it aside; and in his late years he chiefly confined his labours to some very learned papers upon the antiquarian history of the English constitution in the 'Edinburgh Review.' He also published, in 1830, a learned and luminous work upon the ancient history of the constitution.

He had originally been a somewhat indiscriminate admirer of the French Revolution, and

the number of its eulogists whom the excesses of 1793, and 1794, alienated from its cause. Even electoral tyranny had not opened his eyes to the evils of its course ; but a larger acquaintance with the world, more of what is termed “ knowledge of the world,” greatly mitigated the strength of his preconceptions, and his minute study of the ancient constitution of our own constitution completed his conversion from earlier prejudices—nay, rather, turned his opinions into the opposite scale ; for it is that during the last thirty or forty years of his life, in other words, during all his political life, he was tolerating revolutionary courses, or showing a tenderness towards innovations, he was a liberal on so small a scale that he could hardly be thought to approve of any change at all in our present constitution. He held the measure of 1832 as all but revolutionary ; augured ill effects on the structure of the House of Commons, and regarded it as having in the result done great mischief on the composition of that assembly whatever benefit it might have secured to the country as a party movement. Lord Holland had turned up his mind to an entire approval of the measure as necessary, if not for the country, at least for the Liberal party, to which he was devoted ; he supported it, as his uncle had done the far more extensive reform proposed by Lord Grey in 1832, in which, less as it was, very much exceeded

scientific pursuits, regarding physical and moral science—such speculations, yet it was politics of the day and the condition of this country that he divided his time. He could be more useful as an adviser of measures, because he clearly saw the defects and never for a moment suffered himself to be astray by party prejudice or popular opinion. Indeed, like all who, in the entire history of our years, have been for a while beset by the vagant democratic opinions, he was severely against merely popular measures, somewhat too much inclined to those affairs which are directed for the good of the country, managed with as little as possible interference or consent—forgetting that for those affairs taking that direct



minute observation of facts and weighing of evidence which we trace through the lustrous and picturesque pages of Robertson and Gibbon. He for whom a theory was too abstract, no speculation too general could so far stoop to the details of practical statesmanship as to give a friend, proceeding for the first time on a delicate and important mission, this sound advice:—"Don't ever appear anxious at any point, either in arguing to convince those you are treating with, or in trying to obtain a concession from them. It often may happen that your indifference will gain a much readier access to their minds. Earnestness and anxiety are necessary for one addressing a public assembly—but so for a negotiator."

The character of Mr. Allen was of the highest order. His integrity was sterling, his honour pure and untarnished. No one had a more lofty dislike of those mean tricks to which, whether on trifles or matters of importance, worldly men have so frequent recourse. Without the shadow of fanaticism in any of its forms, he was, in all essential particulars, a person of the purest morals; and his indignation was never more easily roused than by the aspect of daring profligacy or grovelling lousiness. His feelings, too, were warm; his nature kind and affectionate. No man was a more steady or sincere friend; and his enmity, though fierce, was placable.

ay naturally be asked how it happened that his great talents, long experience, and many accomplishments, intimately connected as he was with the leading statesmen of his time (the advisers of the Crown for the last ten years of his reign) should never have been brought into public view, or ever been made in any way available to the service of the country? Nor can the answer to the question be that he had no powers of public speaking, and would, if in Parliament, have been for the most part a silent member; because it is not so easy to name a more unbroken silence as for many long years kept by such leading statesmen as Mr. Hare, Lord John Townsend, and Lord Fitzpatrick, without whom, nevertheless, the Whig phalanx always supposed that the Whig phalanx have been wanting in its just proportions; so because there are many important, many high political, offices that can well and usefully be filled by men wholly unused to the wordy war; so that Mr. Allen never filled any place except as Secretary Under Secretary, for a few months, to the Commissioners for treating with America in 1806. I fear we are driven, in accounting for this fact, to the high aristocratic habits of our Government, if the phrase may be allowed; and to comprehend Mr. Allen's entire exclusion from office in no other way than by considering it as a fixed and settled rule that there is in this

tical preferment, no such rise is in ordin
possible. The genius of our system, very
consulting its stable endurance, appears
apportion its labours and its enjoyment, &
the two classes of our citizens by an in
line, and bestowing freely upon the one tl
and the toil, while it reserves strictly for t
the fruit and the shade.

APPENDIX.

Walpole and Bolingbroke do not belong to the reign of George III. But it is impossible well to understand Lord Chatham without considering Walpole also. However, the great importance of continually holding up Walpole to the admiration of all statesmen, and Bolingbroke, except for his genius, to their reprobation, is the chief ground of inserting this Appendix.]

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

THE antagonist whom Lord Chatham first encountered on his entering into public life was the veteran Walpole, who instinctively dreaded him the moment he heard his voice; and having begun by exclaiming, "We must muzzle that terrible Cornet of horse!" either because he found him not to be silenced by promotion, or because he deemed punishment in this case better than blandishment, ended by taking away his commission, and making him an enemy for ever. It was a blunder of the first order; it was of a kind, too, which none less than Walpole were apt to commit: perhaps it was the most injudicious thing, possibly the only very

so many years the highest station which
of a free state can hold, who have enjoyed
power than Sir Robert Walpole, and
behind them less just cause of blame,
monuments of the wisdom and virtue for
country has to thank him. Of Washington
if we behold in him a different character,
far more exalted description, there is to
said, both that his imperishable fame rests
upon the part he bore in the Revolution
his administration of the Government
helped to create; and that his unequalled
and self-denial never could be practised in
circumstances which, like those of Walpole
no temptation to ambition, because they
means of usurping larger powers than
bestowed: consequently his case cannot
pared, in any particular, with that of

with various embarrassments; and yet he
d at home without any inroads upon public
he administered the ordinary powers of
stitution without requiring the dangerous
extreme temporary rigour; he preserved
lity at home without pressing upon the
and he maintained peace abroad without
rifice either of the interests or the honour
ountry. If no brilliant feats of improve-
our laws or in the condition of the state
tempted;—if no striking evolutions of ex-
olicy were executed;—at least all was kept
l quiet in every quarter, and the irrepres-
ergies of national industry had the fullest
forded them during a lengthened season of
which in those days of “foreign war and
e levy” was deemed a fortune hardly to be
or, and of which the history of the country
er offered any example.

ole was a man of an ancient, honourable,
nent family, one of the first in the county
folk, to whose possessions he succeeded
et too young for entering into the Church,
fession he was destined to had an elder
lived. Rescued from that humbler fortune
ch, however, he always said he would have
the Primacy), he had well-nigh fallen into
re obscure—the life of a country gentleman,
h he might have whiled away his time like

his attention to political matters upon
into Parliament. The death of the
Gloucester, Princess Anne's son, had a
the illustrious prince on the throne an
party in general; the Tories had th
obstacle in the way of the Act of Se
which the King was anxiously ende
confirm the freedom he had conqu
adopted country; they had only intro
the hopes of its miscarrying; and the
of parties in Parliament, when the
Oath was carried by a majority of one (1
evinced too clearly that in the country
majority were for the exiled family. I
conceive how greatly the having com
public life at such a crisis must have at
towards state affairs,* and how lasting an

of privilege, the case of the Aylesbury
sing out of the action of *Ashby v. White*;
e he, with the other leading Whigs—the
, the Kings, the Jekyls, the Cavendishes
a decided part for the general law of the
ainst the extravagant doctrines of privilege
ied by the Tories. Sacheverell's trial—a
lly, which he privately did all in his power
ent—completed his devotion to political
was one of the managers, and was exposed
are of the popular odium under which all
noters of that ill-advised proceeding not
ally fell. The Church party were so
l that the mob was on their side as well as
en's Court; and this incident in Whig his-
scribed by Bolingbroke as “having a parson
and burning their hands in the fire,” made
e dread that fire ever after; for it is not
rtain that the share with which he in the
Settlement successfully commenced his
ife, gave a strong Whig bias to his after-
n it is certain that the Sacheverell case gave
stitutional abhorrence of religious contro-
nd an invincible repugnance to touch any
t that could connect itself with Church or
n clamour. Through his whole public
betrayed a lurking dread of anything on
he religious sentiments of the community
e brought to bear, as if aware that these

bounds to the excitement they may produce and not any indifference to the great toleration, always kept him from seeking which there is every reason to think naturally have wished to obtain against Church party, and in favour of the Sectar

The sagacity of such men as Godolphin and Marlborough early descried Walpole's measures, and at once procured him their favour: with the latter to whom he owed his first appointment of Secretary at War, his intercourse was always intimate and confidential. When a vile Court intrigue threatened France from being undone by the victory of a great man; when what St. Simon calls *le miracle de Londres*" unexpectedly rescued Louis XIV. from his doom; when, as Frederick said, Blenheim, Ramillies, and Malplaquet, were all unable to do what Walpole did against detraction, and the French King was saved from the intrigues of a mistress of the ro

iven. His aggravation of it, by boldly defending the conduct of Marlborough against the slanderous attacks of the adverse faction, produced the charge against him of corruption while at the War: and he was sent to the Tower upon an accusation of having received 900*l.* from a contractor; was expelled the House of Commons, though never either impeached or prosecuted; and, being re-elected in the same Parliament, was declared ineligible by a majority of the House.

That Walpole, through the whole of this proceeding, was regarded as the victim of party rancour; that but for the factious spirit of the day he never would have been accused; that nothing can be so decisive against any one than a vote carried by a majority of twelve in a full House of Commons, in which many of the adverse party voted for the accused, and many more refused to vote at all; and that the greatest distrust of their case was shown by the accusers in never venturing to institute judicial proceedings of any kind—may all easily be admitted; and yet there rests a stain upon the part of Walpole's public conduct. For what is his defence? Not to deny that the contractors gave two notes, one of 500 guineas, and the other of as many pounds (of which all but 100*l.* were paid), but to affirm that they were only paid through Walpole's hand to a friend named Mann, in whom he had meant to favour by giving him a

Minister, and thus a case of fraud and
appeared against the latter, which the un-
accident of the former's death prevented from
clearly removed. Now, that such a plea
admitting it to have been as Walpole
describes it, would in our purer days be
deemed most incorrect, nay, sufficient to
character of any minister, cannot be doubted.
those days the course of office seems to have
mentioned such impropriety; and that no man
injured by having so behaved, any more
reputations of some French ministers seem
the worse for the wear they undergo on the
Exchange, must be obvious from the fact
pole having, in four years after, been placed
head of the Treasury, though without the
Premier; and afterwards become, and
head of the Government for nearly the w

or want of the materials of attack, it was urged against him that so long a tenure of any one man was detrimental to the state, if dangerous to the constitution. Nothing can strikingly show the great improvement which principles of public men and the practice of the nation have undergone during the last hundred years.

When he quitted office, a charge of a different kind, though connected with pecuniary malversation, was made against the veteran statesman. A sum of between 17,000*l.* and 18,000*l.* had been advanced by him upon two Treasury orders, two months before he resigned, in February, 1741-2; and when the money before the Exchequer forms had gone through, they were pawned with the cashier of the Bank. Now, Walpole never gave a detailed explanation of this transaction, but began to draw up a vindication of himself, alleging that the money was taken, with the approbation, for the public service. This manuscript is extant, but unfinished; and it consists of a long and distinct statement of the course of the minister in issuing money, from which he infers, that no one can appropriate any sum to his private use in defiance of, or escape from, so many checks and checks. This, however, is a lame defence when the receipt of the money by him is proved. The reason offered for his desisting

an ordinary dealing with secret service.

The general charge of peculation grows from the comparison of his expenditure with his income, which appears more difficult to meet. With an income originally of about 2000*l.* a-year, and which rose to more than double that amount with a profusion amounting to extravagance, so much that one of his yearly meetings, called "the Congress" as it was called, in 1794, and which lasted six or eight weeks, attended by all his supporters in either England or America, by their friends, cost him 3000*l.* a-year. His buildings and purchases were estimated at 10,000*l.* and to this must be added 40,000*l.* for his family. Now, it is true that for many years he had his own official income of 3000*l.*, with 2000*l.* of a sinecure, and his family had between 10,000*l.* and 4000*l.* more, in places of the like de-

100l., or nearly twice the average value of whole private property, could have been accumulated by savings. His incumbrances were paid off by his wife's fortune; his gains upon fortunate sale of his South-Sea stock, just before the fall, could hardly account for the sum, though he states, in a letter to one of his friends, he got a thousand per cent. on what he purchased. On the whole, we must be content to admit that some cloud hangs over this part of his history; and that the generally prevailing attacks against him in this quarter have not been very successfully repulsed.

It has been much more universally believed, that he carried on the Government with a profuse application of the influence derived from patronage; that the most open bribery entered largely into the plan of parliamentary management. That in former days the men were far less pure who filled the highest places in the State, and that parliamentary as well as ministerial virtue was pitched on a lower scale than it happily has been, since the rising and fearless press and a watchful public scrutinized the conduct of all persons in any station of trust, may be at once admitted. It is a truth which has been repeatedly asserted in these times; and if any conclusive proof of it were required, it is the proof we have in the universally acknowledged fact, that the combinations of political par-

that the period of Walpole's power was to introduce extraordinary forces into the system, since the stake was not always a alone, but oftentimes also a crown. When is the game, measures are readily resorted to in the ordinary measures or matches of politics would be reluctantly if at all adopted. It was usual in those days for men out of office had voted with the Government during the session and had obtained no promotion, nor any favours, to receive sums of money—whether as a token of ministerial gratitude, or as a reimbursement of their expenses in attending parliament has been so often asserted, and in some instances with such detailed particulars, that it seems for one of the usual modes of House of Commons management—pretty much like the share

rt, that Sir Robert Walpole's reputation for
 ug carried on the Government with unpre-
 ented corruption rests on no better ground than
 open and honest way of avowing the more
 istomed exercise of patronage, and his re-
 ions, rather merry than well considered, on
 nature of political men—which gave rise to
 notion, that he held statesmen as more venal
 others had believed them to be. His famous
 ng, that "all men have their price," can prove
 ing unless "price" be defined; and, if a large
 liberal sense is given to the word, the pro-
 tion more resembles a truism than a sneer, or
 ebullition of official misanthropy. But it has
 a positively affirmed that the remark never was
 le; for it is said that an important word is
 tted, which wholly changes the sense; and
 : Walpole only said, in reference to certain
 lous or profligate adversaries, and their ad-
 mts resembling themselves, "all *these* men
 s their price."* His general tone of sarcasm,
 n speaking of patriotism and political gratitude,

1000*l.* by General Churchill, Groom of his Bedchamber,
 pen refused it. That Walpole himself had known of
 ar attempts made on Shippen's virtue by the Hano-
 m party, is pretty evident from his well-known saying
 sting that honest man—"I won't say who is corrupt,
 who is not corruptible I will say, and that is Mr.
 pen."

Coxe's *Life of Walpole*, vol. i. p. 757.

denied to be a lively sense of honour.
The opinion of mankind which such
these imported made Pope say,—

“Would he oblige me? Let me only find
He does not think me what he thinks me

But if it is certain that his low
public virtue, always openly, perhaps
expressed, tended to lower men's estimation
own, by making them suppose that he
to act upon his notions of those he lived
with, it is at least equally clear, that it is
more fit to be asked before we condemn
exaggerated misanthropy, is,—Whether
very greatly erred in the mean opinion
which he had formed? No one who
long the dispenser of patronage among
of his fellow-citizens can fail to see in
numerous instances of sordid, selfish,

traction—grasping selfishness in both kinds, pursuit of men's own bread, and cold call upon others' blood—the fury of disappointment when that has not been done which it is impossible to do—swift oblivion of all that is granted—unreasonable expectation of more only because much has been given—not favours repaid with hatred and ill treatment, by this unnatural course the account might be settled between gratitude and pride—such are secrets of the human heart which power soon reveals to its possessor: add to these, that which, ever, deceives no one—the never-ceasing hypocrisy declaring, that whatever is most eagerly desired is only coveted as affording the means of improving the country, and will only be taken at the expense of individual interest to the sense of public duty, and I desire to be understood here as speaking from my own official experience. It is not because that in our own times men are at all worse than they were a century ago. Why then should we suppose that one who had been Prime Minister for twenty years, and in office five or six more, arrived at his notion of human nature from a hypothetical disposition rather than from his actual experience, a longer one than I possessed? still more unjust is the inference which is drawn even from a supposition of exaggerated hypocrisy, that because he thought less favour-

sparingly attacked towards the close of his career, by a motion personally directed against him, with the most acrimonious zeal, and prompted by the minutest inquiry into all his weak points. In the House, when he was present to meet the charge, of corruption, none was made; after he had retired to rule, and had left the Commons, a committee was appointed for weeks to investigate his conduct. The result of the inquiry was the charge already admitted, and a futile statement of his having offered a bribe to the mayor of a borough, and a living to a magistrate's brother, in order to influence a decision. In the great debate on Sandys's motion, the testimony to his pure administration of the most important branch of the public service was given by Sir C. Wager, the First Lord of the Admiralty, who declared that, during the nine years in which he had presided over the Navy, he

re with men's parliamentary conduct, by giving those who had voted against him, was a curse charged upon him and hardly denied; is a proceeding for which ministers are as praised as blamed; it is accounted the use of innate influence to support the government. loudly denied that ever a threat had been avowed by him to deter men from voting according to their conscientious opinions; and when he is challenged to convict him of such a course, he offered to accuse.

Having cleared away the ground from the encumbrances with which contemporary prejudices and interests had encumbered it, we may now distinctly perceive the merits of this great man; and we shall easily admit that he was the ablest, wisest, safest rulers who ever bore rule in this country. Inferior to many in qualities that dazzle the multitude, and undervaluing the outward accomplishments of English stateship, nay, accounting them merits only so far as they conduced to parliamentary and to popular success—and even much undervaluing their effects in that direction—Walpole yet ranks in the very first class of those whose unvarying prudence, sagacious apprehension, fertility of resources to meet unexpected difficulties, firmness of purpose, just and seemingly exaggerated self-confidence, point out by common consent as the men qualified

which in his day formed the provision of a politician. With men his acquaintance was and it was profound. His severe judgment, somewhat misanthropic bias to which reference has been made, never misled him; it only put him on his guard; and it may safely be affirmed that no man ever made fewer mistakes in his dealings with either adversaries, or friends, or the common world.

From these great qualities it results that no man could be a better or a more successful minister to preside over any country in times of peace. If we are unable to conjecture how far his boldness, his prudent circumspection, his sagaciousness of apprehension, would have sufficed him as great a war minister, we have to acknowledge his wise and virtuous policy, which steadfastly maintained peace, and his matchless skill, which

conjecture what the last of national calamities had alone have proved. Nor had he ordinary circumstances to contend against, or ordinary men, the undeviating pursuit of peace, which made course so truly useful and so really brilliant. The impatience of France to recover her power, her military reputation, dimmed by the wars of William and of Anne; the Spanish politics, complicated beyond their usual degree of entanglement; Austria, alternately exposed to danger of being conquered, and putting the balance of Europe to hazard by her ambition and her injuries, never perhaps active or formidable at any other period of her history; Prussia, rising into powerful influence, and menacing Germany with conquest; the great capacity of the Regent Orleans, his inexhaustible resources of address, his manly courage, his profligate character; the habitual insincerity and deep cunning of Fleury, whose pacific disposition, nevertheless, made him Walpole's natural ally—such were the difficulties and the adversities among which he had to steer the vessel committed to his care; while he had to thwart the councils at home, the King, first the father and then the son, constantly bent upon projects of ambition, reckoning conquest the only occupation worthy of princes, war their natural element, and create an atmosphere in which they can scarcely

breathe. It may be added to this, and it forms a higher eulogy still on this great statesman, that beside the opposition to his wise and virtuous policy which he encountered among courtiers and colleagues, often misled by the public impatience, not seldom taking their tone from the Sovereign, an opposition even broke out publicly in high and unexpected quarters; for the Chancellor himself, on one occasion, made a warlike harangue on quitting the woolsack to address the Lords.* A constant feeling of national pride and national prejudice was operating against France, in hatred or jealousy of French alliance, in dislike even of peace itself. The deep-rooted prejudices of the English people never set in more strongly against their French neighbours than during Walpole's administration. One-half the country, albeit friends of the Pretender, hated them because they were French; the other half, both because they were French, and because they were adverse to the Hanoverian settlement. The soreness felt ever since the interests of the country and all the fruits of her most glorious actions had been sacrificed

* When Lord Hardwicke, carried away by the national enthusiasm beyond his accustomed moderation and even gentleness of speech, was declaiming with vehemence on the Spanish depredations in 1739, Walpole, standing on the throne, said to those near him, "Bravo, Colonel York! bravo!"

seht, continued to gall the nation, and make
ous of regaining by arms the footing which
s had lost; and during the long adminis-
of Walpole there hardly passed a year in
the public eye was not jealously pointed to
quarter of the world, remote or near, as
g a reason why the public voice should be
for war. It was this general tide of public
n, as well as the under current of royal and
y inclination, that Walpole had to stem for
a long year. He did stem it; gallantly he
the vessel to her course; and he was not
from the helm by the combined clamours
mob and intrigues of party, until after he
secured the incalculable blessing of a repose
it example for all the great interests com-
l to his charge.

After so long a struggle he at length gave way,
it be remembered that the whole country was
the King, and the Court determined upon
spanish war—one of the greatest blots in
sh history. Walpole's opposition to it was
ous, and it was unavailing. He tendered
esignation to the King, and the King re-
to accept it, passionately asking his minister
ether he would desert him at his greatest
" He then laid his commands on him to
n, and unluckily for his reputation Walpole
d. Had he persisted in resigning, he might

have remained to all posterity without blot to chequer its lustre.

That he had at all times, in the course of foreign affairs, fearlessly counselled truth, and without the least regard to persons spoken out like a man the whole truth in the closet, where such sounds so seldom are heard from the walls, no doubt whatever exists.

Early in George I.'s reign he resisted with his pressing desire for measures against the Elector of Hanover took a very part: he absolutely refused him money on account of a Mecklenburg quarrel, and was reproached by the King for breach of promise. His answer was, though respectful, and it was sincere. He would not, he said, the assertion of his Majesty;

on the Swedish throne, Walpole plainly explained his views, refused the sum, and so impressed the King with the of his pacific policy, that he joined him all his other ministers, both English and — With George II. he held the same independent course; insomuch that at one King's displeasure rose to the height of it impossible for Queen Caroline, his steady friend, to defend, or even name him in her presence. Her only means of assuaging royal anger was to ascribe the minister's error, or, as the King termed it, unworthy and impolicy, to his brother Horace's influence on his mind on all foreign matters. His resistance against "the petty Germanic schemes" of the prince were unremitting; and once he had courage to tell him how much "the welfare of our dominions and the happiness of Europe depended on his being a great king rather than a feeble elector!" If such a speech was but little palatable to his Electoral Highness, less pleasing must have been the remark of the same honest minister ventured to make on the many occasions when the implacable opposition of the House of Brunswick towards that of Hanover broke out. "Will your Majesty engage in an enterprise which must prove both unprofitable and disadvantageous? Why, Hanover

Walpole's pacific policy rendered to his country and the world, strict justice required to surmount the obstacles which were offered to the most simple and honest course. The other great service he rendered to his country, was the securing of the Protestant succession;—invaluable, not only as excluding the plague of the Romish superstition, but as perpetuating the settlement of the Revolution, by which the people were taught to discard their rulers, and to choose such as will protect, not destroy, their liberties. This was recognised and acted upon. Then came the struggle, not only against the claims of the exiled family, sometimes openly and sometimes secretly, favoured by France, but against the claims of the landed interest in England, particularly in Scotland, certainly in Ireland—a man

* The only serious objection ever urged against Robert's foreign policy, his suffering the Emperor

as well as in value of the whole people. The accession of George I. had added to the strength of the Stuart faction all those whom that king excluded from his favour, by the policy which he from the first pursued of placing himself at the head of a party. The appearance of a foreigner to exercise all the functions of royalty, cooled the loyalty of some natural subjects, while it converted many indifferent persons into enemies. Above all, the inroad of a foreigner, with his foreign mistresses, foreign favourites, all the expence of English gold as soon as they entered the land of promise, created a degree of discontent, and even of disgust, which mightily strengthened the prevailing tendency to regret the reign of a native family. In this state of things Walpole prove himself a match for the extreme difficulties of his position. Through his universal accurate intelligence, he was constantly aware of the design that was plotting in every corner of the kingdom, from Stockholm to Naples, by the restless efforts of the exiled family;—aware of them long before they had time for ripening into mischief;—and of them, generally speaking, from the very commencement in any of their most secret councils. He was not, too, a family in the British dominions, whose leanings he was not acquainted with, or whose relations, if they had any, with the court, he did not know. This knowledge he

the means of injuring, or of annoying humbling his adversaries. The fact is well that he was possessed of proofs which would have ruined more than one of them. Shippers and others, knew he was in his antagonist's power, but that antagonist never prevented him from pursuing the course of his violent and inflexible opposition. It must be further said in honour of Walpole's wisdom and firmness, that when the Protestant succession was endangered by foreign movements on the part of the Pope, his all but invincible repugnance to warlike measures gave way to a provident spirit of wary preparation, and he at once, both in his foreign negotiations with Holland and Germany, and in his domestic preparations for war with France, showed a resolute determination to defend at all hazards the Revolution settlement, and to punish those who would molest it.

The financial administration of Walpole

ly before his age, and therefore exposed the usual clamour raised against original sin on state affairs. He held that raw commerce for manufactures, and articles of necessity and consumption, should be relieved from all taxes; that the impost upon land should be reduced as far as possible; that the revenue collected from the excise, being liable to evasions by contraband, should be transferred to the excise; and that the tax of luxury should thus be more securely and economically made to bear the burdens of the national expenditure. Every one knows the clamour raised by the great measure of the excise, the practical illustration of his doctrine, encountered. His reluctance for relinquishing it is not discreditable to him, he had carried it by majorities always; and, when finally the majority was against him, he gave it up on ascertaining that the people were so generally set against it that the officers would be required to collect it. "No man," said this constitutional minister, "ought to be taxed in this free country that it requires a bayonet to collect." A learned and extremely narrow-minded man, hating Walpole's political principles, has not scrupled to own factious folly in the definition of original sin in his dictionary. Another, a greater, more honest, and a less honest man, helped, and implicitly helped, to clamour down the

tion in the church he had prevented, upon calling the most glaring acts of base perfidy part of that unprincipled wit; and whose was taken against the provision made, rather than Walpole's predecessors than himself, for sending a copper coinage to Ireland, upon terms to the trader perfectly fair, and to the country substantially advantageous. The '*Drapier's Letters*,' his most famous and by far his most popular production, the act of his life, he was accustomed to confess, upon which rested his whole Irish popularity—and no name ever retained its estimation in the mind of the Irish people nearly so long as his. His countrymen to reject these halfpence; the very reverend author solemnly asserted his first duty to God next to the salvation of his souls;" and he asserted, impudently asserting, that the coin was only worth a twelfth of its

ribaldry of the Dean prevailed over the experiments of the illustrious philosopher, and the coin was withdrawn from circulation.*

The private character of Walpole is familiarly known; and all contemporary writers join in giving the same impression of it. Open, honest, unaffected, abounding in kindness, overflowing with good-humour, generous to profusion, hospitable to a fault, in his manners easy to excess—no wonder that the ruler of the country should have won all hearts by qualities which would have made a private gentleman the darling of society. With these merits, however, were joined defects or weaknesses, which broke in somewhat upon the respect that great judges require a great statesman to be compassed with round about. His mirth was somewhat free, and apt to be coarse; and he patronised boisterous hilarity in the society which he frequented, and at the merry meetings which were the relaxation of his life. He regarded not the decorum which sober habits sustain; and he followed, in respect of convivial enjoyments, rather the fashion of his own day than of ours. He indulged, too, in gallantry more than beseemed his station or his years; and he had, like a

An Irish writer of incoherent mathematical papers in his own day attacks Sir Isaac Newton as a "Saxon," and a "fiveller;" and he is not treated in Ireland with universal respect.

celebrated contemporary* of his, the weakness affecting to be less strictly virtuous in this respect than he was, and considerably more successful in his pursuit of such recreations. This mixture of honest openness and scorn of hypocrisy, with a little tendency to boast of fortune's favours, is the only trait like an exception to the wholly plain and unaffected nature of the man. Nor is it easy to define with accuracy how much was affected and how much ought to be set down to the advantage of a merely joyous and frank temper. The defect which all persons, of whatever age or cast, took in his society, is admitted by every witness.

Of Sir Robert Walpole's character as an orator or rather a great master of debate, it is of course at this distance of time, and with so little access to the parliamentary history of the day, not possible to speak with confidence or discrimination; but we must rely on the estimate formed by all contemporaries and handed down to us, with few indeed of the materials on which their judgment rested. He despised not only all affectation and all ornaments, but all the resources of the oratorical art beyond its great "origin and fountain," strength.

* Louis XIV., when some one was recounting his anecdote of the Duc d'Orléans's (afterwards Regent's) foibles and said, in language much eulogized by St. Simon, who related the anecdote,—"*Encore est-il finfaron de vices qu'il point.*"

ar ideas, anxious devotion to the object in
 rying the audience along with the speaker,
 be supposed from the manly and plain,
 ely and somewhat coarse, character of his
 nding. Eminently a man of business, he
 rn to Parliament to do the business of the
 and he did it. He excelled in lucid state-
 uth of an argument or of facts; he met
 onist fearlessly, and went through every
 he question; he was abundantly ready at
 d at retort; he constantly preserved his
 as even well-natured and gay in the midst
 difficulties; and possessed his constitu-
 od-humour, with his unvaried presence of
 the thickest fire of the debate, be it ever
 ent, ever so personal, as entirely as if he
 is office, or his study, or the common
 his friends. He was, too, a lively, and
 a tiresome, speaker; nor did any man,
 Lord North himself, enjoy the position
 y debater very enviable, to a minister
 enviable of all—that of a constant fa-
 with the House which it was his voca-
 lead. Such is the general account left
 s speaking, and on this all witnesses are

e be added, that his style was homely, for
 part; and his manner, though animated
 y, yet by no means affecting dignity. In

force of invective and considerable sarcasm. His description of the factious motley opposition, moved by the dark intensions of Bolingbroke, and his portrait of that subtle adversary, appears to have been of great merit, as far as the conception is concerned; for of the execution we cannot in fairness judge from the only record of it which is preserved, the meagre parliamentary register of those days. The excellence of this speech, which eventually drove Bolingbroke into exile, is greatly enhanced by the important circumstance of its being an unpremeditated reply to an elaborate attack upon himself, in which Sir William Windham had feigned a case applicable to himself, and under that cover drawn a severe attack upon him.

Notwithstanding the general plainness and simplicity of his style, some speeches remain distinguished by a highly ornamental and even

provide that its only avenue should be
a family pedigree, or the winding-sheet
of a worthless ancestor. Some idea of his
animated and successful efforts may be
gathered from the following, and it is a very high one, from the ad-
vexordium of his speech in reply to the long
attacks upon him which Sandys's motion
for removal, in 1741, introduced. There
of this speech only his own minutes, yet
from these its great merits appear clear.
Over is the conduct of England, I am
arraigned. If we maintain ourselves in
and seek no share in foreign transactions,
approached with tameness and pusillanimity.
Interfere in disputes, we are called Don-
; and dupes to all the world. If we
(give) guarantees, it is asked why the
is wantonly burdened. If guarantees
ined, we are reproached with having no

neral, his manner was simple, and even
with a constant tendency towards gaiety.
In his finest speech it is recorded, that the
was most fascinating, and of a dignity
unpassed. In vehemence of declamation
n indulged, and anything very violent was
to his habits at all times. Yet sometimes
sted from this course; and once spoke
ch excitement (on the motion respecting

beyond almost any other, dropping down his declamation, from excess of vehemence at this time he was between forty and of age.

But before proceeding to Walpole's versary, Bolingbroke, here I may pause why so large, as it may appear so disproportionate a space has been allotted to Walpole, a figure in this group. It is because there more wholesome, for both the people and rulers, than to dwell upon the excellence of statesmen whose lives have been spent in the useful, the sacred work of peace. The less vulgar are ever prone to magnify the exploits of arms, which dazzle ordinary eyes and prevent any account being taken of the crime that so often are hid in the shining of success. All merit of that shining

endured, by man. To hold up such men
pole in the face of the world as the model
ise, a safe, an honest ruler, becomes the most
duty of the impartial historian; and, as has
aid of Cicero and of eloquence by a great
that statesman may feel assured that he has
progress in the science to which his life is
d, who shall heartily admire the public
ter of Walpole.

FEW men, whose public life was so filled a greater space in the eyes of the world than his own times than Lord Bolingbroke, could claim them a more brilliant reputation. Not more than fifteen years elapsed between his first appearance in Parliament and his attainder; during less than ten of these years was he brought into the course of its proceedings; and yet, as a statesman and an orator his name ranks among the most famous in our history, independently of the literary reputation which places him among the first classics of what we generally call our age. Much of his rhetorical fame may be ascribed to the merit of his written

ed, we shall do well to begin by examining the foundation before we look at the superstructure.

And here the defect, so often to be deplored in contemplating the history of modern oratory, attains its very height. Meagre as are the materials by which we can aim at forming to ourselves some idea of the eloquence of most men who flourished before our own day; scanty as are the remains even of the speakers who figured during the Seven Years' War, and the earlier part of the American contest; when we go back to the administration of Walpole, we find those vestiges to be yet more thinly scattered over the pages of our history; and in Queen Anne's time, during which alone Bolingbroke spoke, there are absolutely none. It is correct to affirm that of this great orator—one

the very greatest, according to all contemporary story, that ever exercised the art,—and these counts are powerfully supported by his writings—not a spoken sentence remains, any more than of the speeches of Demades,* one of the most eloquent of the Greeks, any more than of Cicero's translation from Demosthenes, or the lost works of Livy and of Tacitus. The contemplation of this vacuum it was that made Mr. Pitt, when musing upon its brink, and calling to mind all that might

* The fragment given in some *codices* as his appears of more than doubtful authenticity. The finest portion is taken from a very well-known passage in Demosthenes.

be fancied of the orator from the author, and that traditional testimony had handed down to us, might after a "speech of Bolingbroke,"—desideratum it far more than the restoration of all that has perished of the treasures of the ancient world.

But, although we may well join in these unavailing regrets, attempt vainly to supply the want by our conjectures, and confess our ignorance of the peculiar character of his oratory, the fact of its mighty power is involved in no doubt at all. The concurring testimony of all parties leaves it a matter absolutely certain. The friends and supporters of Walpole, to whom his whole life was hostile, all his acts, his speeches, and his writings are here agreed with the friends, the associates of Bolingbroke; and no diversity of shade marks the pictures which have come down to us from the hand of the antagonist and of the panegyrist. His most intimate companion, Dean Swift, may be suspected of partiality when he represents him as "having in his hands half the business of the nation and the applause of the whole;" but when he tells us that "understanding men of both parties asserted he had never been equalled in speaking, and that he had "an invincible eloquence, with the most agreeable elocution," we can find no fault with the exaggeration, for this account falls far short of what others have told. In truth, his impression upon the men of his own age may well be

ived to have been prodigious, when we reflect that hardly any English orator can now be cited having flourished before his time. This circumstance might even detract from the weight of contemporary testimony in his favour, if we had not more specific reasons for believing implicitly in it than the mere concurrence of general reputation.

He had received at Eton a complete classical education; rather, let us say, had laid there the foundation of one, which, like all others who have done as scholars, he afterwards completed. But his attention was more bestowed upon the remains

Rome than of Athens; he was extensively and thoroughly acquainted with Latin writers, as indeed his frequent quotation of passages little known may show. With Greek literature he seems not to have been familiar; nor can the reader of his own works fail to perceive that his style is not so odorous of the flowers which grew in the more gorgeous climate of the Attic school. With the authors of the age immediately preceding his own—the true Augustan age of English letters—he is well acquainted; and, although his style is quite his own, none being more original, it is impossible to doubt that he had much studied and highly admired (as who can stint himself in admiring?) the matchless prose of Dryden—rich, vigorous, natural, animated, pointed, lending itself to the logical and the narrative, as well as the

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natural science he was no professor, physical writings have gained but little that he was a profound moralist, he studied the sources of human action, acquainted with the nature and habits and had an understanding adapted to the acuteness to take part in the most serious, as well as habituated to the trivial, it would be absurd to doubt, merely metaphysical speculations have been as it would be the height of unworthiness to deny it, merely because his opinions are scepticism, and because an unhappy delirium darkened his life, while it shrouded his humorous works. They who look down on the purely ethical and purely metaphysical of Bolingbroke would do well to

, its pathetic, or its declamatory department, and have been gained by even far less skill, industry, or practice, than he had as a moral philosopher, a student of the nature of the mind, or a expert logician.

Accordingly, when all these accomplishments, added to his strong natural sagacity, his penetrating acuteness, his extraordinary quickness of apprehension, a clearness of understanding against which sophistry set itself up in vain, as the difficulties of the most complicated subject in vain taxed his industry and his courage; with a fancy lively, various beyond that of most men, a sububerant and sparkling, a vehemence of passion—belonging to his whole temperament, even to his physical powers—came to be displayed before an assembly which he was to address; and when his mighty "*Armamentaria Cæli*" were found under the command of one whose rich endowments of mind, and whose ample stores of acquired virtue, united in a person of singular grace, animated a countenance at once beautiful and expressive, and whose words themselves heard in the strains of an unlaboured voice, it is easy to comprehend how vast, how irresistible must have been their impression.

It is easy; but unhappily all we can now obtain is an apprehension that it must have been prodigious, without being able ourselves to penetrate the veil that hides it, or to form any very distinct

notion of its peculiar kind. For the approximating to this knowledge, it is that we should now consider the style of discourse; because, although in general there is great difference between the man and his oratory (witness the memorabilia of Mr. Fox, who, however, increased this difference by writing on a system, and a bad one some this difference is much less than and there seems abundant reason to believe Bolingbroke's case it was as inconsiderable as any other.

If we inquire on what models Bolingbroke formed his style, the result will be, as in the case of all other great and original writers, that he was rather imbued with the general taste and manner of former authors than imitated any of the particular models he had filled his mind with the mighty of antiquity is certain—for, though he had a small store, with the Latin classics familiar, and habitually so, as his allusive quotations constantly show. As might be expected in one of his strong sense, knowledge of the character of men, as well as free habits, Horace have been his favourite; but the historians are plainly of his intimate society. Among modern authors he appears to have had Dryden and the admirable composition of Shakespeare most in his mind. The resemblance of

ay indeed be frequently found with these excellent models—of whom the former, with Bolingbroke himself, may perhaps be admitted to stand at the head of all our great masters of diction. At though in vigour, in freedom, occasionally in rhythm also, in variety that never palls nor ever distracts from the subject, in copiousness it speaks an exhaustless fountain for its source; nothing can surpass Dryden; yet must it be conceded that Bolingbroke is more terse, more condensed where closeness is required, more epigrammatic, and of the highest order of epigram, which in its point not in the words but the thoughts; when, even in the thoughts, it is so subdued to be minister of the composer, and not his master—helping the explication, or the argument, the invective, without appearing to be the main purpose of the composition. In another and a material respect he also greatly excels Dryden; there is nothing flowery in any part of his writings; he always respects his reader, his subject, and himself, too much to throw out matter in a crude and half-finished form, at least as far as diction is concerned: for the structure of his works is anything rather than finished and systematic. Even his tract on Parties, which he calls a *Dissertation*, though mainly his most elaborate work, perhaps also the most admirably written, has as little of an orderly methodical exposition of principles, or statement

of reasonings, as can well be imagined. It is a series of letters addressed to a political paper, abounding in acute, sagacious, often profound reflections, with forcible arguments, much happy illustration, constant references to history, many attacks upon existing parties; but nothing can be less like what we commonly term a Dissertation. The same remark applies to almost all his writings. He is clear, strong, copious; he is never methodical; the subject is attacked in various ways; it is taken up by the first end that presents itself, and it is handled skilfully, earnestly, and strikingly, in many of its parts; it cannot be said to be thoroughly gone through, though it be powerfully gone into; in short, it is discussed as if a speaker of great power, rather than a writer, were engaged upon it; and accordingly nothing can be more clear than that Bolingbroke's works convey to us the idea of a prodigious orator rather than of a very great and regular writer. When Mr. Burke asked, "Who now reads Bolingbroke?" he paved the way for another equally natural exclamation, "What would we not give to hear him?" and this was Mr. Pitt's opinion, when, as has already been observed, the question being raised in conversation about the *desiderata* most to be lamented, and one said the lost books of Livy, another those of Tacitus, a third a Latin tragedy—he at once declared for "A Speech of Bolingbroke." Nor is it the

iod—rather the want of method—the easy and
 ral order in which the topics follow one another,
 taken up on a plan, but each, as it were, grow-
 out of its immediate predecessor, that makes
 writings so closely resemble spoken composi-
 s. The diction is most eminently that of ora-
 al works. It is bold, rapid, animated, natural,
 racy, yet pointed and correct, bearing the
 est scrutiny of the critic, when submitted to
 eye in the hour of calm judgment ; but admir-
 calculated to fill the ear, and carry away the
 ngs in the moment of excitement. If Boling-
 e spoke as he wrote, he must have been the
 test of modern orators, as far as composition
 ; for he has the raciness and spirit, occa-
 ally even the fire, perhaps not the vehemence
 Fox, with richer imagery, and far more correct
 on ; the accurate composition of Pitt, with
 itely more grace and variety ; the copious-
 , almost the learning, and occasionally the
 h of Burke, without his wearily elaborate air ;
 his speech never degenerates for an instant
 dissertation, which Burke's scarcely ever
 ds.

o characterise his manner of speaking from his
 ings would be difficult and tedious, if possible.
 re are in these, however, passages which plainly
 the impress of his extraordinary oratorical
 ers, and which, if spoken, must have produced

an indescribable effect. Take a noble passage from the '*Dissertation on Parties.*'

“ If King Charles had found the nation plunged in corruption; the people choosing their representatives for money, without any other regard; and these representatives of the people, as well as the nobility, reduced by luxury to beg the unhallowed alms of a court, or to receive, like miserable hirelings, the wages of iniquity from a minister; if he had found the nation, I say, in this condition (which extravagant supposition one cannot make without horror), he might have dishonoured her abroad, and impoverished and oppressed her at home, though he had been the weakest prince on earth, and his ministers the most odious and contemptible men that ever presumed to be ambitious. Our fathers might have fallen into circumstances which compose the quintessence of political misery. They might have sold their birthright for porridge, which was their own. They might have been bubbled by the foolish, bullied by the fearful, and insulted by those whom they despised. They would have deserved to be slaves, and they might have been treated as such. When a free people crouch, like camels, to be loaded, the next at hand, no matter who, mounts them, and they soon feel the whip and the spur of their tyrant, whether prince or minister, who resembles the devil in many respects; particularly

—he is often both the tempter and the
or. He makes the criminal, and he punishes
ne.”

her fine passage, admirably fitted for spoken
ce by its rapidity, its point, its fulness
er, each *hit* rising above the last, may be
om the celebrated Dedication to Sir Robert
e :—

ould a minister govern, in various instances
estic and foreign management, ignorantly,
or even wickedly, and yet pay this reve-
nd bear this regard to the constitution, he
deserve certainly much better quarter, and
meet with it too from every man of sense
our, than a minister who should conduct
ministration with great ability and success,
ould at the same time procure and abet, or
unlive at, such indirect violations of the rules
constitution as tend to the destruction of it,
at such evasions as tend to render it useless.
ster who had the ill qualities of both these,
e good ones of neither ; who made his ad-
ation hateful in some respects, and despic-
others ; who sought that security by ruining
stitution, which he had forfeited by dis-
ng the government ; who encouraged the
te and seduced the unwary to concur with
this design, by affecting to explode all pub-
it, and to ridicule every form of our con-

stitution ; such a minister would be looked most justly as the shame and scourge of his sooner or later he would fall without pity, hard to say what punishment would be probable to his crimes."

Lastly, take this instance of another kind alike fitted for the senate :—

"The flowers they gather at Billing adorn and entwine their productions shall I cover by me without any explication. They have the privilege of watermen and oystermen, they enjoy it in that good company, exclusively of all other persons. They cause no offence ; they give no offence ; they raise no sentiment of contempt in the breasts of those they attack. It is to be hoped, for the honour of those they would be thought to defend, that they are not by their low and dirty practice, no other persons in them. But there is another part of their proceedings which may be attributed by some people to you, and which deserves, for that alone, some place in this Dedication, as it may be some motive to the writing of it. When authors grow scurrilous, it would be high to impute their scurrility to any prompter, they have in themselves all that is necessary to constitute a scold—ill-manners, impudent mouth, and a fouler heart. But when they rise a note higher. They cannot do

their own names. Men may be apt to conclude, therefore, that they do it in the name, as they affect to do it on the behalf, of the person in whose cause they desire to be thought retained."

The gracefulness of Bolingbroke's manner has been so greatly extolled by his contemporaries, that we can hardly believe his eloquence to have been so into the vehemence ascribed to it by one who had studied his works more than other men, for he had written an excellent imitation of his style. Mr. Burke speaks of that rapid torrent of "an impetuous and overbearing eloquence for which he justly admired," as well as "the rich variety of imagery."* There is assuredly nothing in his style to discountenance this notion; and, as Burke lived much nearer Bolingbroke's times than we do, there can be little doubt that his panegyric is correct. But all accounts agree in describing the external qualities (so to speak) of his oratory as perfect. A symmetrically beautiful and animated countenance, a noble and dignified person, a sonorous and flexible voice, action graceful and correct, though unstudied, gave his delivery an inexpressible charm with those who witnessed his extraordinary displays as spectators or critics; and armed his eloquence with resistless effect over those whom it was intended to sway, or persuade, or control. If the concurring accounts of witnesses, and the testimony to his merits borne by his writings, may be prefixed to the Vindication of Natural Society (*sub fine*)

trusted, he must be pronounced to stand, upon the whole, at the head of modern orators. There may have been more measure and matured power in Pitt, more fire in the occasional bursts of Chatham, more unbridled vehemence, more intent reasoning in Fox, more deep-toned declamation in passages of Sheridan, more learned imagery in Burke, more wit and humour in Canning;* but, as a whole, and taking in all rhetorical gifts, and all the orator's accomplishments, no one, perhaps hardly the union of several of them, can match what we are taught by tradition to admire in Bolingbroke's spoken eloquence, and what the study of his works makes us easily believe to be true.

In considering Bolingbroke's character, there is even less possibility than in ordinary cases of separating the politic from the natural capacity: less pretence for making the distinction, so often and

* It is inconsistent with the plan of this work to treat of living speakers; and this imposes a restraint in illustrating by comparison. For who can fail to recollect that the utmost reach of eloquence has been attained by those who survive? Who can doubt that Lord Plunket will, after times, be classed with the very greatest orators; and that his style, of the highest excellence, is also entirely original, entirely his own? It affords the most perfect study to those whom its perfection may not make defective. In confining the mention of Mr. Canning to wit and humour it must only be understood that we speak of the defects defective in Bolingbroke, not as confining Mr. C.'s eloquence to that department; he was a very considerable orator in other respects.

incorrectly made between that which is honest in political life, and that which is virtuous or pure in private. It is seldom that the lax morality can be tolerated, understood, which relieves the general reputation of a man from the censure naturally descending upon it, by citing personal merit as a kind of set-off for political delinquency; seldom that there is any kind of sense in believing a man honest who has only betrayed his colleague, because he never deceived his friend; or in acquitting of knavery the statesman who has sacrificed his principles for pre-eminence, merely because he has never taken a bribe, or broken some private trust, embezzled a ward's money, sold a daughter or a wife. Nothing can be more shadowy than such distinctions, nothing more arbitrary than such lines of demarcation. To say that a dishonest, or sordid, or treacherous politician may be a virtuous man, because he has never exposed himself to prosecution for fraud, or forgery, or theft, is near akin to the fantastical morality which should acquit a common offender of horse-stealing because he had never been charged with burglary. It must, however, be confessed, that as there are some cases of political offences much worse than others, so in these the impossibility of making such distinctions becomes more apparent; and both the kind and the amount of the crimes charged upon Bolingbroke seem to point

exile, was constant and peremptory. Nor could probabilities the other way suffice to convince how false his assertions were, until the publication of Marshal Berwick's 'Memoirs' at once did the truth; and then we had a clear statement of his treason having commenced during the King's life-time—a statement under the hand of the person through whom he has himself said that his communications to and from the Pretender were formally passed, at the period when he could hardly have been engaged in the Stuart councils. There is an end, therefore, of his defence against the main body of the accusation, as it is ended by a witness to whose testimony he has excluded himself from objecting. But this is not all. His own conduct bears testimony against him as loudly as his own witness. Upon the day of the demise, Harley, Ormond, and himself, being vehemently suspected of treasonable practice, were accused in Parliament constitutionally, and regularly, formally. What was the course pursued by the three? Harley, conscious of innocence, a guiltless man remained, awaited his impeachment, faced his accusers, met his trial, and was unanimously acquitted. Nor does any one now believe nor did any but they whom faction blinded believe, that he had any share at all in the imposture set on foot to restore the Stuarts. Ormond and Bolingbroke fled; they would not stand their

former never denied his accession to the plot—never having indeed professed any able disposition towards the Revolution; the latter, though he pretended to admit, yet gave none but the most frivolous explanation of his flight. He could only say that his former friend, his friend, become, that he could not think of to be coupled or mixed up with him in any manner. So that his hatred prevailed over his love of himself—his dislike of his neighbour over the natural self-defence; his repugnance for an enemy to reject life itself when the terms on which it was offered involved the act of taking precaution with his rival to secure himself, rather than defend his honour, clear him from the worst of accusations, in the opinion of all men, and which one whom he regarded, like all innocent men, pursued, he wholly abandoning the defence of his reputation and passing with all the world for a false man. It is not often that a guilty person can make a plausible looking defence; not seldom that the best of men, suspected culprits work their contrivances, but never yet did any one, when charged with a crime, draw the noose around his own neck more easily than Bolingbroke did, when he resorted to a plausible explanation of the act, which,

unexplained, was a confession—the flight from his accusers. If that act, standing alone, was fatal to the supposition of his innocence, the defence of it was, if possible, more effectual to his condemnation.

But his subsequent proceedings, and his own general defence of his whole conduct, are still more destructive of his fame. As soon as he fled, his attainder passed, and passed, be it observed, without a dissenting voice through both Houses—a circumstance demonstrative of the universal impression entertained of his guilt; and a thing which never could have happened to a man so lately minister, among his own supporters and his own party, upon any the lowest estimate of public virtue or political friendship, had a doubt existed regarding his conduct, or had he ventured even to deny the charges in private communications with his adherents. He arrived in France: without a day's delay he put himself in communication with the Pretender and his agents; and he at once accepted under him the office of his Secretary of State. Here then let us pause, and ask if this step was consistent with the charge against him being groundless. A statesman, professing inviolable attachment to the Revolution Settlement, is accused of treasonable correspondence with the exiled family; he flies, and because he has been, as he alleges, falsely accused of that offence, he immediately proceeds to commit it. Suppose he made

feasible excuse for running away from his—that the public prejudices against him strong as to deprive him of all chance of al—did he not know that all such prepos—ure in their nature, in the nature of the n the nature of truth and justice, tem—nd pass away? Then would not innocence, under the guidance of common sense and ury knowledge of mankind, have waited, less patient, more or less tranquil, for the returning calm, when justice might be pected? But could anything be more ent with all supposition of innocence than to commit the offence in question, because a delay of justice, through the prevalence r prejudice? What would be said of any nesty who had fled from a charge of theft denied, and feared to meet, because sup—y perjured witnesses, if he instantly took ighway for his support? If, indeed, he the attainer gave him a right to take nst the government, then it must be ob—at some months were allowed him by the urn and take his trial, and that he never ted to see whether, before the given time men's minds should become so calm as to afely encounter the charge.

other and a higher ground must be taken. maintain that it is the part of an honest

man, to say nothing of a patriotic statesman, leave the party of his country, and go over to enemies, the instant he has been maltreated, however grievously, however inexcusably by her—is, by a party of his enemies who happen to govern her councils? Is it the part of public virtue—is it the part of common honesty—to side with enemy and war with our own country because our rulers have oppressed us? Then, if all are agreed that this affords no justification for treason, how much worse is his crime who will plunge his country into civil war, to wreak vengeance on the faction that has oppressed and banished him? The Revolution Settlement obtained Bolingbroke's deliberate approbation: our man has spoken more strongly in its favour; it is the guarantee, according to him, of both civil and religious liberty. Yet against this settlement declares war—to subvert it he exerts all his power merely because the Whig party had maltreated himself, and created against him a prejudice he is afraid to face. Nay more—be the settlement the very best conceivable scheme of government or it was established, and could only be upset by commotion, and probably required the aid of foreign invasion to overthrow it. To darken the face of his native land with those worst of all plagues is his desire, that he might take his revenge on his enemies, and trample upon them, raised to po-

under the restored dynasty of the bigoted and tyrannical Stuarts ! This is not the charge made against Bolingbroke by his adversaries ; it is not the sentence pronounced upon him by an impartial public ; it is the case made for himself by himself, and it is as complete a confession of enormous guilt as ever man made. It further betokens a mind callous to all right feelings ; an understanding perverted by the sophistries of selfish ingenuity ; a heart in which the honest, with the amiable sentiments of our nature, have been extinguished by the habitual contemplations familiar to a low ambition.

From a man who could thus act in sharing the Pretender's fortunes, and could thus defend his conduct, little honesty could be expected to the party with which he had now ranged himself. The charge of having neglected the interests of the Pretender, and done less than he ought to further the rebellion in 1715, made against him by the thoughtless zeal, the gross ignorance, the foolish presumption of the Jacobites, and to which is almost entirely confined the defence of himself, in his celebrated, and for composition justly celebrated, ' Letter to Sir William Wyndham,' was plainly groundless. It was likely, indeed, to be groundless ; for the interests of Bolingbroke, all the speculations of his ambition, all the revengeful passions of his nature, were enlisted to make him zealous in good earnest for the success of the rebellion ; and to aid

that enterprise, nowever much he might despair of it, he exerted his utmost resources of intrigue, of solicitation, of argument. But as soon as it had failed, the Pretender probably yielded to the misrepresentations of Bolingbroke's enemies, possibly lent an ear to the vulgar herd of detractors, who could not believe a man was in earnest to serve the Prince because he refused, like them, to shut his eyes against the truth, and believe their affairs flourishing when they were all but desperate. The intrigues of Lord Mar worked upon a mind so prepared; and advantage being taken of a coarse though strong expression of disrespect towards the Prince, he was induced to dismiss by far his ablest supporter, and take that wily old Scotchman as his minister.

There was the usual amount of royal perfidy in the manner of his dismissal, and not much more. At night he squeezed his hand, and expressed his regard for the man whom in the morning he dismissed by a civil message requiring the seals of his office, and renewing his protestations of gratitude for his services, and confidence in his attachment. Bolingbroke appears to have felt this deeply. He instantly left the party, and for ever; but he affects to say that he had previously taken the termination of retiring from all connexion with the service as soon as the attempt of 1715 should be made and should fail. Assuming this to be the

ich it probably is not, he admits that his course s to depend, not on any merits of the Stuart ise, not on any view of British interests, not on y vain, childish, romantic notions of public duty d its dictates, but simply upon his own personal ivenience, which was alone to be consulted, and ich was to exact his retirement unless the dynasty re restored—which was, of course, to sanction . continuance in the service in the event of ccess crowning the Prince, and enabling Boling- oke to be minister of England. But whatever ght have been his intentions in the event of the etender retaining him as his Secretary of State, dismissal produced an instantaneous effect. All gard for the cause which he had made his own was t in the revenge for his deprivation of place under chief; and he lost not a moment in reconciling nself with the party whom he had betrayed, and erted, and opposed. To obtain an amnesty for e present, and the possibility of promotion here- er, no professions of contrition were too humble, promises of amendment too solemn, no display zeal for the Government which he had done his nost to destroy too extravagant. To a certain tent he was believed, because the Pretender's use was now considered desperate, and Boling- oke's interest coincided with the duty of perform- g his promise. To a certain extent, therefore, s suit was successful, and he was suffered to return me and resume his property with his rank ;

the doors of Parliament and office were kept against him, and the rest of his life was a unavailing regrets that he had ever left his country and as unavailing rancour against the greatest honest minister who had shown him mercy by being his dupe—who had allowed him to bring to England a dwelling-place once more, with the hope of making it once more the sport of his cupled ambition.

Here, again, regarding his final abandonment of the Pretender, we have his own account, that alone we are condemning him. Because the Parliament of the Brunswicks attainted him, he confessed his guilt by his flight, he joined the standard of the Stuarts. It was covered with a mediocred defeat, and he resolved to quit it. Meanwhile the master into whose service he had as a volunteer chose to take another man, and therefore Bolingbroke deserted him, and left him when his misfortunes were much more tolerable than his ingratitude. The pivot of his actions, by all that he urges in his own behalf, is his individual, private, personal, interest. In the consideration all sense of principle was set aside, all obligation of duty subjected; whatever vengeance prompted, whatever his ambition suggested, that he deemed himself justified in doing if not called upon to do.

Bolingbroke's 'Idea of a Patriot King' differed exceedingly from his idea of a Patriot

the duty of the former, according to him, was a constant sacrifice of his own interests to the good of his country; the duty of the latter he held to be a constant sacrifice of his country to himself. The one was bound on no account to regard either his feelings or his tastes, the interests of his family, or the powers of his station; he was justified in regarding his own gratification as the object of his life. Between the ruler and the subjects there was in this view no kind of exchange; for all the life of self-sacrifice spent by the monarch was to be repaid by a life of undisturbed and disguised self-seeking in the other. But if the system which his system proposed to afford for the performance of the patriot king's duties, or for the education of patriots of kings, was somewhat scanty and rigorous, not to say fantastical, ample security was held out for the patriot citizen's part being taken. The monarch was enticed to a right and moderate use of power by clothing him with great authority, and trusting rather to that than to influence not being very extravagantly employed; the secret for moderating the monarch's opinion was to bestow it without any reserve; the protection given to the people against the arbitrary power of the prince was to deliver them from his hands; the method proposed for putting himself out of conceit with blood was to throw

the lamb to him bound. If this did not very hopeful mode of attaining the object likely way to realise the ' Idea of a Patriot the plan for producing Patriot Citizens in us supply was abundantly certain. Whatever the one scheme might disclose in the know human nature, whatever ignorance of human none whatever could be charged upon the for it appealed to the whole selfish feeling soul, made each man the judge of what w virtuous for him to do, and to guide his ju furnished him with a pleasing canon enou had only to follow his own inclinations wh ever they might lead. Such was the system lingbroke upon the relative duties of soverei subjects—a system somewhat more symme unfolded as regards the former ; but, touch latter, fully exemplified by his practice, a plainly sketched by his writings composed own defence ; for it must never be forgott he is not like most men who have gone as refusing to practise what they preach, or j unequal to square their own conduct by th which in general they confess to be just. F duct has been openly and deliberately vindik himself upon the ground that all he did, at l he admitted himself to have done, he was j in doing ; and he has confessed himself t acted in every particular with an undeviating

the pursuit of his own interests, and the gratification of his own passions.

Of Bolingbroke's private life and personal qualities, as apart from his public and political, little needs be added. He who bore the part in scenes which we have been contemplating could not easily have been a man of strict integrity, or of high principle in any relation of life. There may have been nothing mean or sordid in his nature; an honesty, common to persons of his station, may have been proof against the common temptations to which it was exposed; the honour which worldly men make their god may have found in him a submissive worshipper; but the more exalted and the nobler qualities of the soul were not likely to be displayed by one whose selfish propensities were gratified in public life at the cost of all that statesmen most regard in public character; and little reliance can be placed either on the humanity, or the self-control, or the self-respect of one whose passions are his masters, and hurry him on to gratification at all the hazards that virtue can encounter.

Accordingly, his youth was a course of unrestrained and habitual indulgence. In a libertine he was marked as among the most licentious. Even his professed panegyrist, Dean Swift, makes defence for this part of his life, and only ventures to suggest that he had lived long enough to regret and repent of it. Sir William Windham,

too, fell into such courses, carried away
ample, and seduced by the charms of
and they who have written of him ascribed
dissipation to the ascendant of such
That he survived this tempest of the pa
years, and became more quiet in his
during the calmness of his blood, is pe
the result of physical causes than any g
of his returning virtue, or any manifest
penitence.

That his feelings, however, when l
natural course, unperturbed by evil as
hurried by evil propensities. were kind
rous, there is sufficient proof. The mar
in early youth he first contracted was
dent and of family arrangement: li
unions, it was attended with little hap
second wife was one of his choice:
demeanour was blameless, and he en
comfort in her society. His attach
friends was warm and zealous; and the
and looked up to him with a fervour
ill be expressed by such ordinary word
or respect, or even admiration. Yet
relation, the most attractive in which h
us, his proud temper got the better o
nature; and he persecuted the memo
whom living he had loved so well, with
hardly to be palliated, certainly not t

ted, by the paltry trick to which that great poet and little man had lent himself, in an underhand publication of the manuscripts confided to his care. His spirit was high and manly ; his courage, personal and political, was without a stain. He had no sordid propensities ; his faults were not mean or paltry ; they were, both in his private life and his public, on a large scale, creating, for the most part, wonder or terror more than scorn or contempt—though his conduct towards the Pretender approached near an exception to this remark ; and the restless impatience with which he bore his long exclusion from the great stage of public affairs, and the relentless vengeance with which he, in consequence of this exclusion, pursued Walpole in its cause, betokened anything rather than greatness of soul.

That the genius which he displayed in the senate, his wisdom, his address, his resources in council, his boldness, when joined to fascinating manners and literary accomplishments, have made him shine in society without a rival, can easily be comprehended.

So great an orator, so noble a person in figure and demeanour, one so little under the dominion of the principle which makes men harsh, and the constraints which tend to render their manners brutal—was sure to captivate all superficial observers, and even to win the more precious applause of superior minds. To do that which he did

so well naturally pleased him ; to give delig itself delightful ; and he indulged in the harmless relaxations of society long after l ceased to be a partaker in the less reputabl sures of polished life. He probably left as reputation behind him, among the contemp of his maturer years, for his social qualities, remained by him to the last, as he had gain those who remembered the eloquence that earlier days shook the senate, or the poli intrigues that had also shaken the monarchy The dreadful malady under which he long li and at length sunk—a cancer in the face—t with exemplary fortitude, a fortitude draw the natural resources of his vigorous mi unhappily not aided by the consolations of : ligion ; for, having early cast off the belief i lation, he had substituted in its stead a da gloomy naturalism, which even rejected tho merings of hope as to futurity not untasted wiser of the heathens.*

Such was Bolingbroke, and as such he r regarded by impartial posterity, after the vi of party has long subsided, and the view is r intercepted either by the rancour of politi mity, or by the partiality of adherents, or

* Lord Chesterfield, in one of his letters lately p by Lord Mahon (ii. 450), says, that Bolingbro doubted, and by no means rejected, a future state.

ness of friendship. Such, too, is Bolingbroke
the gloss of trivial accomplishments is worn
time, and the lustre of genius itself has faded
the simple and transcendent light of virtue.
contemplation is not without its uses. The
of talents and success is apt to obscure defects
are incomparably more mischievous than
intellectual powers can be either useful or ad-
ple. Nor can a lasting renown—a renown
alone deserves to be courted of a rational
—ever be built upon any foundations save
which are laid in an honest heart and a firm
use, both conspiring to work out the good of
ind. That renown will be as imperishable as
pure.

TRANSLATIONS.

Page 7.

'T is not *your* burning words that fright me!
The Gods affright me, and great Jove my foe!

Or thus—

I fear not you, fierce man, whose accents glow.
I fear the Gods, and Jupiter my foe.

Page 96.

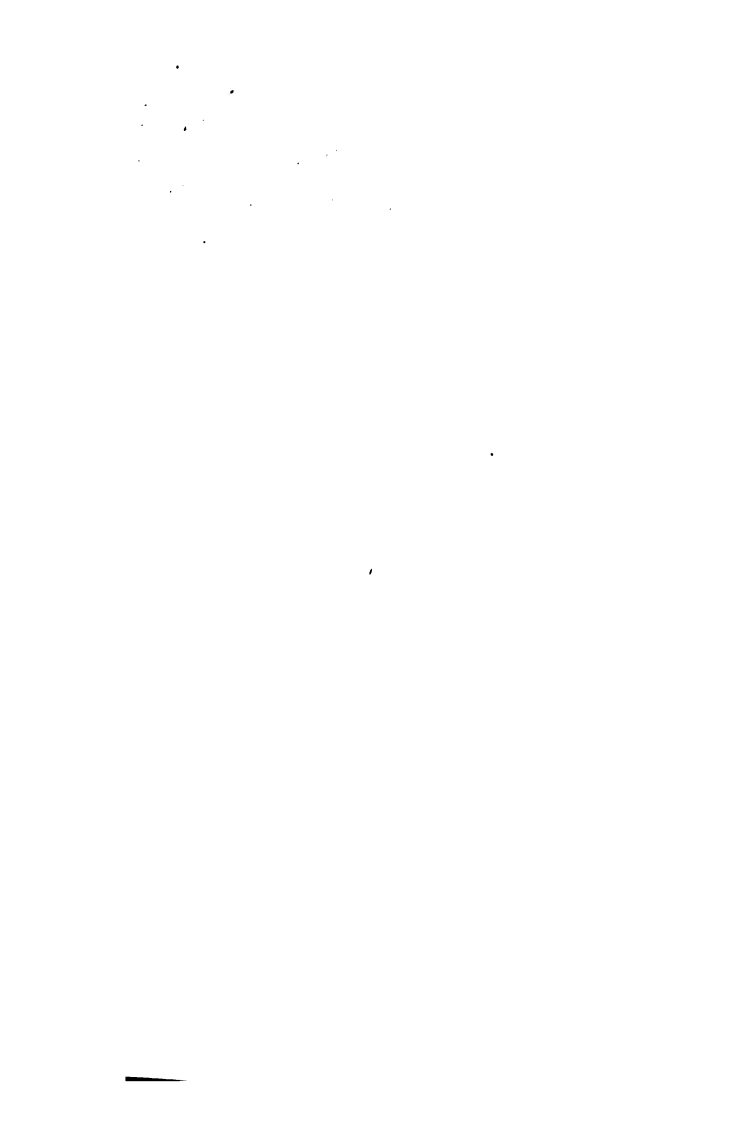
For first of all there must be mature deliberation
when you have deliberated, there must be prompt ex-

Page 175.

Alas! how much less is it worth to live with
than to remember thee!

THE END OF VOL. VI.





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